

The American Mind

Part I

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THE TEACHING COMPANY ®

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Dr. Guelzo is the author of numerous books on American intellectual history and on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War era, beginning with his first work, *Edwards on the Will: A Century of American Theological Debate, 1750–1850* (Wesleyan University Press, 1989). His second book, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians, 1873–1930* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), won the Outler Prize for Ecumenical Church History of the American Society of Church History. He wrote *The Crisis of the American Republic: A History of the Civil War and Reconstruction* for the St. Martin's Press *American History* series in 1995 and followed that with an edition of Josiah G. Holland's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1866) in 1998 for the "Bison Books" series of classic Lincoln biography reprints of the University of Nebraska Press. Dr. Guelzo's book *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President* (Wm. Eerdmans, 1999) won both the Lincoln Prize and the Abraham Lincoln Institute Prize in 2000. In 2003, his article, "Defending Emancipation: Abraham Lincoln and the Conkling Letter, August, 1863," won Civil War History's John T. Hubbell Prize for the best article of that year. Dr. Guelzo's most recent work, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* (Simon & Schuster, 2004), also won the Lincoln Institute Prize and the Lincoln Prize for 2005, making him the first double Lincoln Laureate in the history of both prizes. He is now at work on a new book on the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, also for Simon & Schuster.

Dr. Guelzo has written for *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *First Things*, the *Claremont Review of Books*, and *Books and Culture* and has been featured on NPR's "Weekend Edition Sunday" and Brian Lamb's "Booknotes." He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Abraham Lincoln Association, the Abraham Lincoln Institute, and the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church; a member of the advisory councils of the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission and the McNeil Center for Early American Studies (at the University of Pennsylvania); and a member of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, the Society of Civil War Historians, and the Union League of Philadelphia. Dr. Guelzo has been a fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies (1991–1992), the McNeil Center for Early American Studies (1992–1993), the Charles Warren Center for American Studies at Harvard University (1994–1995), and the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University (2002–2003). Professor Guelzo's other Teaching Company courses include *Mr. Lincoln: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* and *History of the United States, 2nd Edition*, which he team-taught with Patrick Allitt and Gary W. Gallagher.

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The American Mind

Scope:

This Teaching Company lecture series offers a broad survey of American intellectual history. It is a history of the ideas, the thinkers, and the institutions that have mattered most to Americans as a people. The 36 lectures in this series are built around six basic themes in American thinking:

1. The fundamental struggle for importance between intellect and will—in other words, whether it is more important for us to think or to act.
2. The persistence of religious ideas as a living part of American intellectual life.
3. The formation of two souls in the American consciousness, one the product of Puritan religion and the other the product of America's embrace of the Enlightenment.
4. The struggle between liberty and power in a democratic society, as seen in the liberal capitalism of Alexander Hamilton and Abraham Lincoln, and the fierce suspicion of commercial societies seen in Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.
5. The dramatic shift in categories of American thinking that occurred in the post-Civil War decades, which turned Americans away from traditional philosophical and social thinking and toward pragmatism and secularism.
6. The dilemmas posed by the American ascent to world power through two world wars and the responsibilities that have come with it.

We'll begin in Lecture One by confronting a fundamental problem that occurs whenever we try to speak of an "American mind." Americans like to think of themselves as a practical, hands-on, results-oriented kind of people. How can we be such a hard-headed nation and still really have an *intellectual* history? Part of the answer to that question begins with Lecture Two, where we examine the Puritans, who combined a strong scholastic intellectual inheritance with a deep and uneasy piety that pitted will and intellect against each other in ways that continue to echo in our ears. We move almost at once in Lecture Three to what is supposed to be the antithesis of Puritan piety, and that is the American Enlightenment—only to find that the Enlightenment was not without its own pious unease. In fact, we'll find in Lecture Four that one of the brightest gems in the American Enlightenment was also one of its most determined Puritans, Jonathan Edwards. Lecture Five will, in the same way, use the premier intellectual institutions of early America—its colleges—to illustrate how the Enlightenment and piety struggled unevenly for advantage and sometimes for common ground.

Lectures Six through Eight explore the ways in which Enlightenment Americans turned their attention from the loftier realms of God and truth to politics and why the English Whig republicans exerted so strong a hold on the American revolutionaries. Two of those revolutionaries, Hamilton and Jefferson, joined to found a new republican government but soon discovered (as we'll see in Lectures Nine and Ten) that there could be two powerfully contradictory ways of thinking about a republic, depending on whether one drank from the fountain of *classical* republicanism or *liberal* republicanism. There might even be a third way, as Lectures Eleven and Twelve will show, if one allows religion to have its say, as indeed it did, in the very different forms of Edwardsean revivalism and collegiate moral philosophy.

Lectures Thirteen through Seventeen explore the ways in which these notions of being a republic were tried in the fire of ideological controversy—Jacksonians and Whigs, Romantics and Rationalists, slaveholders and abolitionists—all of which culminated in the explosive conflict of the American Civil War. Lecture Eighteen, focusing on Abraham Lincoln, shows us how very much the Civil War was a struggle of ideas as well as armies. In fact, it shows how very much a man of ideas could live within the skin of a professional politician.

The war assured victory to one side in the great struggle of ideas and culture. But it was an enormously costly struggle, and it left the victors unable to deal with a fresh set of challenges—disillusion with the shallowness of victory (Lecture Nineteen); the impact of Charles Darwin, which amounted to a sort of second Enlightenment (Lecture Twenty); and the scramble of American religion to define a new place for itself in industrial America (Lecture Twenty-One). A handful of thinkers—with Josiah Royce as the principal example—tried to find a new ground for stability and absolute truths, but Royce stood little chance against the cheerful philosophical pragmatism

of William James or the aggressive social pragmatism of John Dewey (Lectures Twenty-Two through Twenty-Four). Neither Dewey nor James was half so radical in the face of the new industrial society as America's turn-of-the-century socialists, Populists, and Progressives, whom we meet in Lectures Twenty-Five and Twenty-Six and who found Lincoln's liberal capitalism no solution to the dilemmas of an industrial working class.

But if they hoped for a better economic world than the one the Civil War made, they were unprepared for the disillusion imposed by World War I, which began as a Progressive crusade but quickly turned into a celebration of intellectual disgust with idealism of any sort (Lecture Twenty-Seven). Progressivist idealism, as well as liberal capitalism and religious absolutes, were dismissed by the new social scientists, who appear in Lecture Twenty-Eight, as cultural accidents rather than eternal truths. America's ongoing racial hypocrisy, which we chronicle in Lecture Twenty-Nine, now came to the surface for the first time since the Civil War as a national disgrace, and although the Great Depression and World War II gave American intellectuals a fresh opportunity to rally around the possibilities of a democratic future, Lectures Thirty through Thirty-Two show that American thinkers—especially its scientists—were ill-equipped to deal with dilemmas that turned out to be quite unscientifically religious.

The post-World War II decades were the last fling of Progressive thinking, as American intellectuals increasingly prophesied the collapse of American thinking under the sheer weight of mindless consumerism (Lecture Thirty-Three). They barely noticed that the most successful reform movement of the day, the Civil Rights Movement (Lecture Thirty-Four), turned out to be profoundly religious at its core. The intellectual mayhem of the 1960s and the New Left burned out the last strength of the old Jeffersonian and Progressive tradition (Lecture Thirty-Five) and brought to the fore a renewed and invigorated Lincolnian Neo-Conservatism, in which discussion of natural law, moral absolutes, and liberal capitalism was once again respectable (Lecture Thirty-Six).

Americans have often been a lot less practical—and a lot more idea-driven—than we appear. If we look back through American history, alongside all our can-do attitudes stands a complicated network of beliefs about human nature, politics, free will, science, and God. This course obviously includes more than just studying American philosophy. It is, instead, a course on all of American intellectual history—philosophers, yes, but also preachers, reformers, judges, composers, feminists—anyone, really, who has tried to reshape American life through ideas.

Lecture One

The Intellectual Geography of America

Scope: Before we can study the “American mind,” we have to be sure that there *is* one. This claim has been doubted by many interpreters who see Americans as activists—as *doers* rather than *thinkers*—something that is reinforced by the way American intellectual history has been taught. The “Great Convention” of American intellectual history traces a course from the Puritans to Franklin to Emerson to James. But this approach is suspect because it ignores large stretches of intellectual territory, which we will make the real object of our course.

Outline

- I. Many people doubt that there is an “American mind” worth studying.
 - A. The great defining characteristic of Americans is precisely that we are *doers*, not *thinkers*.
 - 1. We respect knowledge and education but only to solve problems.
 - 2. We are comparatively new among the nations of the Earth.
 - 3. We fear what ideas can do to people if they become too preoccupied with them.
 - B. Sometimes this denial of the existence of an American mind becomes congratulatory.
 - 1. Emerson believed that “character is higher than intellect.”
 - 2. The historian Daniel Boorstin described early Americans as a people who focused on the immediate.
 - C. Other observers were not quite so confident that this was a good thing.
 - 1. Tocqueville thought democracy had an ill effect on the life of the mind.
 - 2. James Fenimore Cooper complained about the popular press.
 - 3. Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story blamed “light reading” for crowding out real literature.
 - 4. Psychologist G. Stanley Hall indicted church control over college curriculums.
 - 5. Philosopher George Santayana believed serious intellectual life took a back-row seat to industrial energy.
 - 6. Journalist and critic Henry L. Mencken dismissed the American cultural landscape as a “Sahara of the Bozarts.”
 - 7. American historians look for explanations in purely material causes.
- II. When someone does venture to teach a course on American intellectual history, the usual course of study follows the “Great Convention.”
 - A. It begins with the Puritans.
 - 1. It suggests that the work of building a colony would keep them too busy for thinking.
 - 2. It dismisses Puritan theology as medieval scholasticism.
 - B. It moves to Jonathan Edwards.
 - 1. It defines Edwards as a hell-fire preacher during the Great Awakening.
 - 2. Edwards’s life is supposed to show how badly America treats its thinkers.
 - C. It moves to Benjamin Franklin.
 - 1. It rhapsodizes on Franklin’s *Autobiography*.
 - 2. Franklin introduces us to the model American, practical and commonsensical.
 - D. It pays homage to William James, John Dewey, and the triumph of pragmatism.
 - 1. It lauds pragmatism because it is a philosophy that sees no intrinsic use for ideas.
 - 2. It shows how all American intellectual roads lead to pragmatism.
- III. There are a number of difficulties with this Great Convention.
 - A. It jumbles together a great many “un-alikes.”
 - 1. There are very few systematic thinkers.
 - 2. These writers represent different and incompatible genres.
 - B. Most of the Great Convention’s subjects are suspiciously concentrated around Boston.
 - 1. That is a product of the dominance of Harvard-trained academics in the history of ideas.

2. This is like trying to write the history of opera as though it only took place in the Met.
 - C. The Great Convention ignores an embarrassing number of missing links.
 1. Between the Puritans and Edwards, New Englanders wrestled with Descartes and Newton.
 2. Edwards shaped two generations of independent theological thinkers.
 3. Franklin was not an influential thinker.
 4. The Enlightenment incorporated religion into “moral philosophy.”
 5. Emerson and the Transcendentalists were Romantic lightweights.
 - D. The Great Convention devalues the struggle of the Enlightenment and Romanticism.
 1. Puritans were people of religious faith.
 2. But Puritanism had an overlap with the Enlightenment in its respect for reason.
 3. Romanticism was a counter-movement against the Enlightenment.
 4. Emerson and the Transcendentalists were not the best representatives of Romanticism.
 5. The Great Convention is right on the revolutionary upthrust of pragmatism at Harvard.
 6. But the Great Convention ignores how pragmatism was tied to specific historical events.
 7. The Great Convention also downplays how different Dewey’s brand of pragmatism was from James’s.
 - E. Finally, the Great Convention misses the boat entirely on two developments in the 20th century:
 1. The rise of a neo-orthodox religious critique.
 2. The migration of a massive wave of European intellectuals in the 1930s and the resulting violent emergence of the New Left in the 1960s.
- IV. This course will lay out an entirely different map of the American mind.
- A. We will begin with the Puritans, but we will see them as participants in a larger, transatlantic realm of philosophical work.
 - B. We will see Edwards and his Awakeners and the Enlightenment and its reasoners as those “two souls” within the American body.
 - C. We will come to understand the genuinely revolutionary implications of American Romanticism.
 - D. We will study the many faces of American pragmatism.
 1. We will talk about what pragmatism could not account for: the Old Left, the New Left, and the Neo-Conservatives.
 2. We will see that all roads do not lead to pragmatism and that religion is not easily gotten rid of.
 - E. The basic aim of the course is to convince you that Americans really do have a mind.

Essential Reading:

W. McClay, “Do Ideas Matter in America?” *The Wilson Quarterly* (Summer 2003).

Supplementary Reading:

M. Zuckerman, *Almost Chosen People*, chapter 1.

Questions to Consider:

1. What are the chief weaknesses of the Great Convention of the history of American ideas?
2. Is Edwards more important than Franklin?

Lecture Two

The Technology of Puritan Thinking

Scope: The Puritans brought with them, as colonizers, a vibrant intellectual life, born partly of the Calvinist Reformation and partly of medieval scholasticism. But they also brought with them unresolved problems over the intellect and the will and struggled to adapt themselves to the spread of a new methodology for learning based on doubt and experiment.

Outline

- I. The Puritans who arrived in New England in 1630 were the product of the European Reformation.
 - A. The issue triggering the Reformation was: “By what means is man made right with God?”
 - 1. This issue implicated a host of others.
 - 2. John Calvin began to remodel other features of traditional Catholic belief.
 - B. A uniquely Calvinistic theology eventually emerged, based on five fundamental points and known by the acronym TULIP:
 - 1. Total depravity
 - 2. Unconditional election
 - 3. Limited atonement
 - 4. Irresistible grace
 - 5. Perseverance of the saints
 - C. In England, the Reformation was introduced by King Henry VIII.
 - 1. Henry VIII was guided strictly by political desire.
 - 2. Henry’s daughter, Elizabeth I, resisted Puritans who wanted more radical Protestantism.
 - 3. The most radical were the Independents (Congregationalists) and Separatists.
 - 4. The Puritans hoped for sympathy from Elizabeth’s successor, James I, but were disappointed.
 - 5. They began to leave, first for the Netherlands, then for Massachusetts Bay.
- II. Massachusetts Bay became a string of thriving towns, stretching westward from Boston.
 - A. These towns looked like nothing anyone could have found in old England.
 - 1. There was no bishop, no prayer book.
 - 2. Ministers asked for testimonies of grace before admitting people to membership.
 - B. The most unusual institution was Harvard College (1636), modeled after European universities.
 - 1. The chief tool of learning was logic, not experiment.
 - 2. The principal source of truth was authority, not nature.
 - 3. The principal language was Latin.
 - 4. It aspired to a summary of all knowledge, called *technologia*.
 - 5. It emphasized classical learning and included nothing practical or vocational.
 - 6. “Discoursing well” concentrated on victory in argument.
 - C. This was congruent with the Puritan concentration on the exposition of biblical texts.
 - 1. Puritan biblical exposition began with the doctrine.
 - 2. It proceeded to the uses.
 - 3. It concluded with the application.
- III. Two issues became principal Puritan intellectual concerns.
 - A. First was the place of logic in the Harvard curriculum.
 - 1. Logic referred to both *epistemology* and *axioms*.
 - 2. William Ames denied that logic could describe ethics.
 - B. Second was the structure of human psychology.
 - 1. Right reasoning divided human psychology into faculties.
 - 2. Thomas Aquinas was an *intellectualist* (intellect is the highest faculty).
 - 3. Ames was a *voluntarist* (will is the highest faculty).

4. These also implied different relationships between the church and society.
- C. Harvard at first resisted Ames but changed its mind after 1660.
1. A new generation of New Englanders led to a reexamination of the basis of New England society.
 2. New challenges to New England's isolation were appearing from England.
 3. A new intellectual movement, the Enlightenment, questioned the traditional basis of Puritan intellectual life.

Essential Reading:

S. E. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony*, chapter 6.

Supplementary Reading:

N. Fiering, *Moral Philosophy at Seventeenth-Century Harvard*, chapters 1–4.

P. Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*, chapters 5–6.

Questions to Consider:

1. What Calvinistic doctrines were summed up by the acronym TULIP?
2. Why was the debate over faculty psychology between will and intellect important for New England Puritans?

Lecture Three

The Enlightenment in America

Scope: The Enlightenment made its first beachheads in America in the colonial colleges, beginning with William Brattle at Harvard but including the College of William & Mary in Virginia, the Academy of Philadelphia, and Yale. Part of the attraction of Enlightenment thinking was intellectual, but part of it was cultural, as ambitious Americans aspired to anglicize themselves and bring themselves closer to the intellectual models of the mother country.

Outline

- I. The Enlightenment, as an *intellectual* event, is harder to describe than political or military events.
 - A. It is often thought of as an 18th-century event.
 - 1. This is only partly true, given that its remote beginnings can be traced to as early as 1543.
 - 2. Its conclusion can be dated as late as 1815.
 - B. It is often thought of as an antireligious event.
 - 1. But the Enlightenment challenged only automatic authority, not religion itself.
 - 2. Many Enlightenment thinkers had no trouble finding religion to be a good thing.
 - C. The Enlightenment is often supposed to be about skepticism and criticism.
 - 1. But it was also a very optimistic movement.
 - 2. Its fundamental aim was not to entertain skepticism but to banish it.
 - D. The Enlightenment was reared on two basic attitudes:
 - 1. The primacy of reason.
 - 2. The testimony of nature.
 - E. These attitudes were to offer a rebuttal to skepticism.
 - 1. The results of the religious wars made many Europeans think that nothing could be known for sure.
 - 2. The greatest work of the Enlightenment was to show that something could be known at all.
 - 3. The best example was René Descartes.
- II. The Cartesian method appealed to Harvard because the college had not known much certainty by 1680.
 - A. In 1654, President Dunster defected to the Baptists.
 - 1. They repudiated the baptism of children altogether.
 - 2. Dunster resigned under pressure from the Massachusetts General Court.
 - B. Dunster was followed in the presidency by two clergymen and two physicians.
 - 1. Not until 1684 did Harvard finally get its first star president, Increase Mather.
 - 2. Mather brought to Harvard John Leverett and William Brattle.
 - C. Brattle was the embodiment of the cautious Enlightenment.
 - 1. His logic textbook, *A Compendium of Logick, According to the Modern Philosophy*, was the first beachhead of Cartesian logic in America.
 - 2. But Brattle hoped to dig a new epistemological foundation for Calvinist orthodoxy.
 - D. Leverett was less cautious in his embrace of the New Philosophy.
 - 1. As president of Harvard, he discouraged Calvinist dogmatism in favor of more “Generous Principles.”
 - 2. Increase Mather had tried in vain to block Leverett’s ascension to the Harvard presidency.
- III. Harvard was not the only place in America that faced the challenges of the New Philosophy.
 - A. Virginia was founded without any guiding religious vision or incentive to found colleges.
 - 1. Virginia was founded as a private corporate enterprise by the Virginia Company, which later went bankrupt.
 - 2. Until 1685, crown interest in America never moved much beyond tokenism.
 - B. But by the 1690s, however, the colonies had proven fertile and resourceful.
 - 1. France began waging imperial war through its own North American colonies.
 - 2. The Americans were quite happy to have the British bear the brunt of these imperial expenses.

3. The Americans were surprisingly prosperous.
4. The Americans assumed that they were the equals of the home islands.
- C. From the 1690s onward, Britain gradually began reaching for control.
 1. Royal Governor Nicholson organized the College of William & Mary as an extension of the English Enlightenment.
 2. The Academy of Philadelphia (later to become the University of Pennsylvania) established itself as a model of Enlightenment breeding.
 3. Philadelphia became home to a coterie of Enlightenment intellectuals.
 4. Even the Yale curriculum was introduced to the reading of Locke.
 5. In 1722, Timothy Cutler and four of the Yale tutors publicly renounced Congregationalism.

Essential Reading:

J. D. Hoeveler, *Creating the American Mind*, chapters 2, 9.

Supplementary Reading:

H. F. May, *The Enlightenment in America*, chapter 2.

P. Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province*, chapters 26–27.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the roles played by *reason* and *nature* in the Enlightenment?
2. How were the colonists' aspirations to be thought of as “respectably English” connected to the founding of William & Mary and the Academy of Philadelphia?

Lecture Four

Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening

Scope: The Enlightenment's leading philosophical edge collided with moral conservatism when Hobbes bluntly promoted the notion that human nature was nothing but material substance. The most sophisticated rebuttal to materialism came from Bishop George Berkeley, but it was eventually a compromise position that won the day. Compromise held no allure for Jonathan Edwards, however. Edwards adopted a Berkeleian-style immaterialism as his philosophical base and then used it not only to repel materialism but to criticize compromisers among the ranks of New England Puritanism. Ultimately, it became linked to Edwards's role in the spiritual revival known as the *Great Awakening*.

Outline

- I. The Enlightenment in Europe and in America was fundamentally about *epistemology*, about how we know things.
 - A. One response was to assert the sole existence of material substance (materialism).
 1. Human beings are composed entirely of material substance.
 2. Freedom of will is an illusion.
 3. This view was associated with Julien de La Mettrie, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke.
 - B. A second response was immaterialism (only spiritual substance exists).
 1. This response was most often associated with Bishop George Berkeley.
 2. Berkeley argued that there is no guarantee that our ideas represent anything.
 - C. The third response was a compromise position.
 1. This response was most often associated with the Cartesian method and Newton's physics.
 2. In this view, material substance was allowed to function without mechanism, directed by God.
 3. But the God who emerged from these debates was no longer the God of the Bible.
- II. This position did not satisfy the broad spectrum of European opinion, which is why a reawakening of intense evangelical Christianity occurred.
 - A. It came in a bewildering variety of forms.
 1. In Protestant Germany, it appeared in the form of Pietism.
 2. In France, it took the form of Jansenism.
 3. In England, it appeared in the Non-Jurors and in the Methodist revivals.
 - B. But the awakenings shared some important common ground.
 1. They shared a common sense of skepticism about the established churches.
 2. They sought to recover a more natural religion, the religion of the heart.
- III. The best representative of the awakenings in America was Jonathan Edwards.
 - A. Edwards was born on October 5, 1703, in East Windsor, Connecticut.
 1. His grandfather was Solomon Stoddard, the most powerful ecclesiastical figure in western New England.
 2. From both sides of the family, Edwards inherited a distrust of what was going on in Boston and at Harvard.
 3. Stoddard threw to the winds even the Half-Way Covenant, which was a compromise position on the question of who was entitled to admission to communion and baptism in the Congregational churches of the Bay Colony.
 - B. Edwards was sent to Yale in 1716.
 1. His education stressed the English and Dutch Protestant scholastics.
 2. But he was also introduced to William Brattle's Cartesian "new logic."
 3. He began dabbling in scientific essays and keeping commonplace books with his own speculations on epistemology and natural science.
 4. Edwards was gradually pulled to an immaterialism similar to that of Bishop Berkeley.

- C. Edwards became his grandfather Stoddard's assistant pastor in 1727 in Northampton, Massachusetts.
 - 1. The notations in his philosophical notebooks trailed off, but they resurfaced in the Boston Public Lecture of 1731.
 - 2. In 1734, an awakening occurred in Northampton in a revival that resulted in more than 300 souls saved.
 - 3. Edwards described this eruption in *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*.
 - D. A second "Great Awakening" occurred in 1740–1741.
 - 1. It was connected to the itinerant preaching of George Whitefield through British North America.
 - 2. A fresh outbreak of revivals consumed Northampton and western New England.
- IV. Whitefield's preaching generated angry criticism from both the Boston elite and country parsons.
- A. By 1742, New Englanders were polarized into "Old Lights," who condemned revivals, and "New Lights," who encouraged them.
 - 1. Edwards became the principal theorist of revivals and religious experience.
 - 2. He participated fully as a preacher in promoting revivals.
 - 3. Edwards also published three important defenses of New Light revivalism: *Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God* (1741), *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion* (1742), and *A Treatise Concerning the Religious Affections* (1746).
 - B. But *Some Thoughts* and *The Religious Affections* show signs of stress in Edwards.
 - 1. The aftermath of the Great Awakening proved to be a severe disappointment.
 - 2. Many of the awakened gradually subsided into religious listlessness.
 - 3. In 1744, Edwards reimposed the test of public confession of grace.
 - 4. The Northampton church forced Edwards to resign in 1750.
 - C. Edwards took charge of the Mohegan Indian mission at Stockbridge, Massachusetts.
 - 1. Between 1751 and 1757, he produced two "dissertations" on ontology and ethics.
 - 2. He also wrote two major treatises, *The Freedom of the Will* (1754) and *Original Sin* (1758).
 - D. The Enlightenment was simultaneously Jonathan Edwards's friend and enemy.
 - 1. His Calvinism made him hostile to attempts to base human behavior on reason.
 - 2. Yet he believed that reason, once sanctified, was an instrument to be well used in examining nature.
 - 3. Edwards is that rare exception who turned conflict into a creative intellectual fusion of Enlightenment and piety.

Essential Reading:

P. F. Gura, *Jonathan Edwards: America's Evangelical*.

Supplementary Reading:

N. Fiering, *Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought and Its British Context*, chapter 1.

J. E. Smith, *Jonathan Edwards: Puritan, Preacher, Philosopher*, chapters 3–4.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. What were the three basic positions taken in the Enlightenment on epistemology?
- 2. In what ways were Edwards and the awakenings opposed to the Enlightenment? In what respects did they share its outlook?

Lecture Five

The Colonial Colleges

Scope: The Great Awakening turned out to be a major force in establishing new colleges in colonial America, as angry Awakeners turned their backs on Yale or Harvard and founded alternative colleges. But these colleges were quickly absorbed into the intellectual life of the Enlightenment and laid the foundations for a synthesis of reason and religion whose foremost example was John Witherspoon.

Outline

- I. The Great Awakening saw the founding of new colleges: Princeton, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth.
 - A. The Awakeners were not always friendly to the colonial colleges.
 - 1. George Whitefield severely criticized Harvard.
 - 2. At Yale, graduate James Davenport held a book burning.
 - 3. David Brainerd, a student, left Yale to become a protégé of Edwards.
 - B. But colleges founded around the will rather than the intellect had a hard time justifying their existence.
 - 1. The Shepherd's Tent was forced to close down.
 - 2. The Log College was absorbed into the College of New Jersey, later called Princeton.
 - C. Princeton showed how difficult it was to reconcile revival with collegiate education.
 - 1. The college was founded by Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr, and Ebenezer Pemberton.
 - 2. Jonathan Edwards died after assuming the presidency in 1758.
 - 3. In 1768, Princeton chose John Witherspoon as president.
- II. The arrival of John Witherspoon was a watershed in American collegiate life.
 - A. Witherspoon had little sympathy for the Awakening or Edwards's immaterialism.
 - 1. Witherspoon subscribed to the Scottish "common sense" philosophy.
 - 2. John Locke did not believe that we actually could know the objects of our ideas directly.
 - 3. Francis Hutcheson of the University of Glasgow objected that such beliefs made minds passive in knowing.
 - 4. They also failed to account for why minds have ideas about things that mere sensations cannot account for.
 - 5. This concept demonstrated the existence of a "moral sense."
 - 6. Scottish philosopher Thomas Reid used moral sense epistemology as a foil to David Hume's skepticism.
 - B. For Witherspoon, Reid's and Hutcheson's common sense philosophy intersected with traditional scholastic appeals to natural law and the new political science of natural rights.
 - 1. Minds render a judgment about the certainty of the world.
 - 2. Common sense philosophy also reveals certain fundamental moral principles within us.
 - 3. Just as Reid worked inductively, so all truths must be built up by strict induction.

Essential Reading:

J. D. Hoeveler, *Creating the American Mind*, chapters 3, 5.

Supplementary Reading:

L. A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience*, chapter 4.

B. Le Beau, *Jonathan Dickinson and the Formative Years of American Presbyterianism*, chapter 9.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. How many American colleges were direct or indirect heirs of the Great Awakening?
- 2. What three basic principles did John Witherspoon find in the Scottish common sense philosophy?

Lecture Six

Republican Fundamentals

Scope: Britain's American colonies had been founded in a haphazard manner and filled the vacuum of British imperial control by developing their own governments. As the colonies prospered, the imperial government took more and more notice and took more and more steps to regulate and harness that prosperity. The colonies resented this intrusion, and they found in the classical liberalism of Whig political theorists a ready explanation for the legitimacy of their own governments and the evil of British attempts at meddling with them.

Outline

- I. The Spanish and French colonies were *state* enterprises.
 - A. They were the property of a king.
 - B. The king made the governors and viceroys who ruled them afterwards.
- II. For the English and the Dutch, however, colonial enterprise was strictly a franchise operation.
 - A. Only two parties came out winners.
 - 1. One was the imperial government in London.
 - 2. The other was the actual colonists.
 - B. Virginia organized a House of Burgesses to levy taxes.
 - 1. The problem was that an assembly was illegal.
 - 2. There was only one recognized legislative assembly, Parliament in London.
 - 3. But London was 3,000 miles away, and this assembly cost London no money.
 - C. The colonial governments did not look like any English legislative assembly.
 - 1. Parliament was far from representative.
 - 2. Two-thirds of the white population of the British colonies owned 60 percent of the land.
 - 3. Colonial elites might look like gentry, but they were dependent on landowning farmers.
 - 4. Governors were restricted in their powers.
 - 5. Unhappy colonists easily resorted to mob actions to get their way.
- III. England was a monarchy, but it had never been a stable monarchy.
 - A. Government in England was described as a three-way system of checks and balances: king—lords—commoners.
 - 1. The people most apt to use this way of describing English politics were Whigs.
 - 2. The term *Whig* came into use from *whiggamore*, a country yokel.
 - 3. Whigs liked to think of themselves as the sturdy sons of the countryside.
 - B. Whiggery was based on four propositions.
 - 1. Liberty is natural and cannot be a gift of a monarch.
 - 2. Liberty can be destroyed, normally by a corrupt elite.
 - 3. Liberty requires an alliance with virtue for protection from corruption and power.
 - 4. Because Whigs prefer virtue to power, they are found outside the centers of power.
 - C. The Whig ideology was dramatically described by John Locke in his *Two Treatises on Government*.
 - 1. Locke imagined a point in history before governments existed (the “state of nature”).
 - 2. By mixing your labor with the natural materials at hand, you create *property*.
 - 3. People give up a little of the freedom of the state of nature by joining in protective arrangements, which become governments.
 - D. Locke's politics was based on three assumptions.
 - 1. The fundamental problems of human life are scarcity and security.
 - 2. Government is an invention of the people to solve those problems.
 - 3. If a government is not doing the job, the people (because *they* made it) may turn to other forms of government.

- E. Locke is the prophet of *classical liberalism*.
 - 1. He was concerned with throwing off the yoke of monarchy.
 - 2. He favored making reason, rather than tradition, the guide of political life.
 - F. But Locke was only the most famous of English Whig liberals.
 - 1. Contemporaries of Locke's—Algernon Sidney, Henry Bolingbroke, and Henry Neville—all advocated reducing the power of monarchy.
 - 2. They were joined by satirists Joseph Addison, John Trenchard, and Thomas Gordon.
 - 3. The most radical were republicans, on the model of classical Roman republicanism.
 - 4. Locke represented an alternative to the radicals, *liberal* republicanism.
- IV. Whiggism in England was a carefully calculated dissent, rather than a program for action.
- A. But in America, Locke's state of nature described the conditions of the colonies.
 - 1. In America, protecting property seemed to be exactly what called the colonial legislatures into existence.
 - 2. Minimal government intervention was what the colonies had experienced as a normal state of affairs.
 - B. This meant that Americans also accepted Locke's warnings about political degeneration.
 - 1. For Locke, the step out of the state of nature is fraught with danger.
 - 2. The governments people create may grab for more and more power.
 - 3. In the 1760s, Americans began to find confirmation that the British Empire had gone astray.

Essential Reading:

B. Bailyn, *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, chapters 1–2.

Supplementary Reading:

C. S. Hyneman and D. S. Lutz, eds., *American Political Writing during the Founding Era*, vol. 1, chapters 6, 11–12, 18, 20, 32.

G. S. Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, chapters 1–2.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. What four ideas are fundamental to the Whig political outlook?
- 2. Distinguish between *classical* and *liberal* republicanism.

Lecture Seven

Nature's God and the American Revolution

Scope: The ideas that made the American Revolution had been under construction long before the Revolution itself, beginning with the Enlightenment's general sense of resistance to authority and continuing through the colonists' religious radicalism and the example of the English Whigs. All the Revolution needed was the demand of the British government to override the colonies' own legislatures and assemblies to set British North America alight with revolt.

Outline

- I. The ideas that paved the road to independence had been at work over a long time.
 - A. Besides Locke, the Enlightenment contributed a general resistance to traditional authorities.
 - 1. The Scottish common sense philosophy offered an alternative source of authority in natural law.
 - 2. The attitude of "benign neglect" led the colonies to the necessity of self-government.
 - B. Religious radicalism encouraged dissent.
 - 1. In New York, wealthy Presbyterian William Livingston made resistance to King's College a religious issue.
 - 2. Virginia Baptists posed a challenge to the Anglican ascendancy in Virginia.
- II. Parliament began its first attempts at regulating the *internal* commerce of the colonies in 1764.
 - A. Before that time, regulation taxed only the colonies' *external* trade across the ocean.
 - 1. Taxation of the colonies' domestic economies was done by the colonial legislatures.
 - 2. But if the colonies were mere plantations, why not tax the internal colonial economies?
 - B. In 1764, Parliament began a series of confrontations over internal tax bills.
 - 1. To the Tories, the Americans needed to be subordinated to their God-given master, the king.
 - 2. To the colonies, legislation should be in their hands.
 - 3. Thomas Paine, in *Common Sense*, concluded that monarchy was the problem.
 - 4. It took 10 years for the cycle of accusation to turn into violent resistance and, eventually, revolution.
 - C. The Revolution carried with it all the disparate streams of resistance.
 - 1. Presbyterian preachers turned out in great numbers for the Continental army.
 - 2. John Adams saw the revolution as the dawning of Enlightenment politics.
 - 3. Jefferson's Declaration of Independence was a monument of Lockean simplicity and Scottish moral sense.

Essential Reading:

P. Maier, *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence*, chapter 2.

Supplementary Reading:

M. Jensen, ed., *Tracts of the American Revolution, 1763–1776*, chapters. 13, 16.

P. Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution*, chapter 2.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. In what ways was the American Revolution an Enlightenment project?
- 2. What common cause did New York Presbyterians and Virginia Baptists have in the quarrel with Great Britain?

Lecture Eight

Deism, Science, and Revolution

Scope: If America was the darling of the Enlightenment, then the Enlightenment's favorite location in America was Philadelphia, based largely on its extraordinary collection of Enlightenment thinkers and organizations but also on its commitment to reconciling science and religion along the same path laid out by the Scottish common sense philosophy.

Outline

- I. If America had an intellectual capital *after* 1740, it was Philadelphia.
 - A. Philadelphia enjoyed no promising beginning as an intellectual capital.
 1. The Quakers were the most radical of the sects spawned by English Puritanism.
 2. Quakers looked into their own religious consciousness for the testimony of a Light Within.
 3. Philadelphia was a city with broad streets, so that vice might have no place to hide.
 - B. But the Quakers showed little disposition to create a Quaker paradise in Pennsylvania.
 1. Quakers never numbered more than a fraction of the total population.
 2. Pennsylvania turned into a mélange of European nationalities, religions, and languages.
 - C. Presbyterians, Lutherans, German Calvinists, and members of the Church of England came from traditions with a strong penchant for establishing schools.
 1. This proliferation of schools was made possible by Philadelphia's rise to commercial power in the British colonies.
 2. Philadelphia's population grew to 40,000 in 1776.
- II. But Philadelphia's richest intellectual assets lay in its cluster of Enlightenment thinkers, beginning with Benjamin Franklin.
 - A. Benjamin Franklin was a printer.
 1. Printers occupied an unusual place in the intellectual order.
 2. Printers lived by publishing an entrepreneurial assortment of newspapers, almanacs, and books.
 3. They had to be well read themselves.
 4. They were part tradesmen and part literati.
 5. They lived by their networks of commercial and intellectual connections.
 6. Their insiders' view of the world of print inclined them to skepticism.
 - B. Franklin arrived in Philadelphia in 1723.
 1. He began issuing the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.
 2. He issued a successful annual almanac, *Poor Richard's Almanac*.
 3. He was George Whitefield's printer of choice, and he earned a fortune from the sales of Whitefield's works.
 - C. What gained him international notice were his experiments in electricity.
 1. The Royal Society ignored his letters.
 2. Franklin published *Experiments and Observations on Electricity, Made at Philadelphia, by Mr. Benjamin Franklin*, in April 1751.
 3. In 1752, Franklin published an account of a further experiment with lightning and electricity, flying a kite with a key in a thunderstorm—an experiment that he likely never performed himself, knowing both how dangerous it could be and how tempting it would be for doubters of his findings to try out.
- III. Franklin was not the only Philadelphian who found the city opening the way to a "love of science."
 - A. The real center of Philadelphia's Enlightenment was the American Philosophical Society (APS).

1. The APS began as a private club, the Junto.
 2. Members met at the Pennsylvania State House to hear scientific papers read.
 3. Ebenezer Kinnersley was a scientific and electrical experimenter.
 4. Francis Alison was an anti-revivalist Presbyterian minister.
 5. John Ewing studied natural philosophy.
 6. Two prominent physicians also stood out, William Shippen and Benjamin Rush.
 7. Most talented of all was mathematician and instrument-maker David Rittenhouse.
- B. It is easy to mistake Kinnersley and the APS as mere extensions of Franklin.
1. There was, however, a serious parting of the ways on the subject of religion.
 2. Franklin was a Deist.
- C. Franklin defined his own Deism by five highly minimalistic principles:
1. That there is a God who made all things.
 2. That he governs the world by his providence.
 3. That he ought to be worshipped by adoration, prayer, and thanksgiving, but that the most acceptable service to God is doing good to man.
 4. That the soul is immortal.
 5. And that God will certainly reward virtue and punish vice, either here or hereafter.
- D. The Philadelphia Enlightenment had a much more expansive view of religion than Franklin.
1. Kinnersley thought the purpose of science was to open the path to an accurate appreciation of God's glory.
 2. William Bartram looked in botany for the workings of God.
 3. Alison taught that God actively directed nature.
- E. Like the Scottish Enlightenment, Philadelphia's Enlightenment was poised between nature and grace.
1. Natural law explained a great deal, but it did not explain everything.
 2. Scientific experiment and investigation were needed to confirm and expand upon grace.
- F. The Revolution cost Philadelphia its chance for dominating American philosophy.
1. The city was occupied by the British in 1777, then trampled over by radical revolutionary mobs in the 1780s.
 2. The APS met intermittently during the revolutionary crisis.
 3. By 1800, Philadelphia's Enlightenment was moribund.

Essential Reading:

N. Reid-Maroney, *Philadelphia's Enlightenment, 1740–1800*, chapter 8.

Supplementary Reading:

I. B. Cohen, *Science and the Founding Fathers*, chapter 3.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did Franklin's Deism and the religion of the Philadelphia Enlightenment differ?
2. What caused the demise of the Philadelphia Enlightenment?

Lecture Nine

Hamilton and His Money

Scope: It was only when America's Whigs actually had a republic on their hands that they realized there was no agreement on what practical shape a republic should take. Should it follow the example of Jefferson and classical republicanism or the commercial liberal republicanism of Alexander Hamilton that found its best expression in *The Federalist Papers* and the 1787 Constitution?

Outline

- I. The success of the American Revolution seemed nearly miraculous.
 - A. Washington actually stumbled from one defeat to another from 1775 to 1780.
 - 1. Only his own personal example prevented a coup d'état.
 - 2. But it was precisely the army's failures that prevented making a coup a real threat.
 - B. There were other failures that did not have such silver linings.
 - 1. The independent habits of the colonies led them to buck against each other.
 - 2. The government that the revolutionaries created with the Articles of Confederation did not guarantee unity.
 - 3. The *anglicized* elite in America were exiled, and political leadership was opened to people with little experience.
 - 4. The revolutionaries supposed that a natural virtuous leadership would step into place, but this is not what happened.
 - C. Republicans in the 18th century shared certain Whig essentials.
 - 1. They repudiated tradition, hereditary monarchy, and aristocracy.
 - 2. They were suspicious of power, seeing power as the enemy of liberty.
 - 3. They believed in the supremacy of reason, natural law, and natural rights.
 - 4. They found their chief inspiration in the example of republican Rome.
 - D. What divided them was the split between classical and liberal republicans.
 - 1. Jefferson can be described as a classical republican who feared *dependence*.
 - 2. Alexander Hamilton was a liberal republican who believed that commerce and agriculture could become a great national team.
 - 3. Between them stood James Madison, who hoped for a government of classical republican virtue but did not put too much trust in its spontaneous appearance.
- II. In the 1780s and 1790s, Madison and Hamilton got their chance to do something about the Articles of Confederation and save the Union from dissolution.
 - A. A commercial convention led to the calling of a Constitutional Convention.
 - 1. The Constitution made no appeal to classical republican virtue.
 - 2. It was filled with skeptical compromises.
 - 3. According to Madison, where virtue failed, self-interest would not.
 - 4. It restrained the states from establishing their own economic policies and made no reference to God or Christianity.
 - B. Hamilton and Madison mounted an effective media campaign in *The Federalist Papers*.
 - 1. By June 1788, the Constitution had been ratified by the necessary number of states.
 - 2. Jefferson, who was serving as ambassador to France, was predictably unenthusiastic.

Essential Reading:

F. McDonald, *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography*, chapters 1, 8.

Supplementary Reading:

W. S. Randall, *Alexander Hamilton: A Life*, chapters 15–16.

R. Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*, chapters 14–21.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did James Madison manage to straddle the ideological division between Jefferson and Hamilton?
2. In what ways did the Constitution reflect the thinking of Hamilton rather than Jefferson?

Lecture Ten

Jefferson and His Debts

Scope: As the author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson occupies one of the premier pedestals in American memory. But he was also a bundle of contradictions: a politician who detested politics and a lawyer who preferred scientific experiments. Above all, his experience of debt drove him to spin webs of fantasy about the glories of independent farming, and that in turn, broke the old revolutionary coalition into Federalist and Democratic-Republican parties.

Outline

- I. With few exceptions, no one stands closer to the heart of America's national identity than Thomas Jefferson.
 - A. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence.
 - 1. He defined the Revolution as an experiment in Enlightenment politics.
 - 2. He ascended to the level of a symbol of American liberty.
 - 3. He was an American *virtuoso*.
 - B. He was also a man of great intellectual contradictions.
 - 1. Almost his entire life was lived in politics, yet he had little love for it.
 - 2. Jefferson was a poor public speaker, but his conversation was a revelation.
 - 3. Jefferson defined a classical republican political philosophy against the liberal republicanism of Alexander Hamilton.
 - C. Jefferson's intellectual maturity was connected to the Scottish Enlightenment.
 - 1. His first tutor, William Douglas, was a Scot.
 - 2. When he arrived at William & Mary, the college was in the hands of another Scot, William Small.
- II. Jefferson turned to law as a profession.
 - A. He studied law under George Wythe in Williamsburg.
 - 1. He was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses.
 - 2. He published *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* in 1774.
 - 3. He was sent in 1775 to sit in the Second Continental Congress.
 - B. Up until the 18th century, law was hardly a profession at all.
 - 1. Administration of the law was in the hands of appointed magistrates and justices of the peace (JPs).
 - 2. Lawyers were little more than gentlemen with a smattering of legal literacy.
 - 3. Law was not terribly lucrative by itself.
 - 4. *Criminal* law was largely a matter of punishing moral or religious offenses or probating wills.
 - 5. *Civil* law was preoccupied with matters of inheritance and debt.
 - C. Colonial law sprang from two sources.
 - 1. One was statute law: law created by the colonial legislatures.
 - 2. The other was British common law.
 - 3. Common law proceedings governed most of colonial law
 - 4. After the Revolution, Americans wondered why their courts should continue to operate by British common law.
 - D. Jefferson never developed any significant law practice of his own.
 - 1. He was involved in only 941 cases over seven years.
 - 2. He stopped practicing law altogether after 1776.
 - 3. But legal problems posed by common law became the central problems of his life.
 - 4. Indebtedness threatened him with loss of control.

5. Jefferson concluded that only a nation of those who owned property freely and without dependence could really create a republic.

III. Jefferson's political philosophy blinded him to the follies of the French Revolution.

- A. Jefferson praised the revolutionaries for their resolution.
 1. As Secretary of State, his adulation for the French continued without pause.
 2. The executions of the innocent were simply the collateral damage of revolution.
- B. Jefferson believed that he and the Jacobins wanted only a government by virtuous citizens.
 1. Instead, he found that indebtedness and collection were being reimposed through statute by Alexander Hamilton.
 2. In a series of three great reports to Congress, Hamilton recommended that Congress pay off its revolutionary debts rather than repudiate them, build up manufacturing, and establish a national bank.
 3. Hamilton's plan made debt untouchable and put manufacturing and money-lending in the driver's seat of the economy.
 4. Independent farmers would be forced to bear the burden of government indebtedness.
 5. This mistrust led to the fracture of the revolutionary generation into Federalists and Democratic-Republicans.
- C. Jefferson was elected president in 1800, partly because of slavery.
 1. Jefferson never pretended he had an excuse for keeping black slaves.
 2. But his own fragile independence rested squarely on the shoulders of his slaves.
 3. The Constitution allowed the southern states to count three-fifths of their slaves toward their electoral votes.
 4. Without those extra electoral votes, Jefferson would have lost the election of 1800.
- D. Had he been more of a practical politician, Jefferson might have been more successful in dismantling the structures created by Hamilton.
 1. Hamilton had as his great second the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall.
 2. The manufacturing economy Hamilton constructed was ringed by Marshall with procommercial judicial decisions.

Essential Reading:

S. Elkins and E. McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism*, chapters 2–3.

Supplementary Reading:

L. Banning, *The Sacred Fire of Liberty*, chapter 10.

J. J. Ellis, *American Sphinx*, chapter 4.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the experience of debt color Jefferson's view of republican politics?
2. How did Hamilton's three great reports lay the basis for a commercial republic?

Lecture Eleven

The Edwardseans—From Hopkins to Finney

Scope: The Revolution was a great disappointment to religious leaders who hoped to ride its victories to new levels of moral and cultural authority in the American Republic. But the disciples of Jonathan Edwards soon learned, first, how to restart the energies of revival and, second, how to turn revivals into agencies of moral and cultural authority that, although indirect, still succeeded in reversing the fall of the republic into Enlightenment secularism.

Outline

- I. Jonathan Edwards hoped that the Great Awakening was the overture to the millennium.
 - A. What ultimately followed was not a spiritual millennium at all but a secular revolution.
 - 1. New England Congregationalists and middle-Atlantic Presbyterians rallied to the American cause.
 - 2. The Church of England lost three-quarters of its American clergy.
 - B. The revolutionary leadership was controlled by men with little interest in Christian theology.
 - 1. Instead of leading the Revolution, the clergy found themselves being used by it.
 - 2. Instead of carving out a new public role for the churches, they found that they had lost the public roles they once had.
 - 3. The first amendment to the new federal Constitution forbade an establishment of religion.
- II. The first response came from the heirs of Jonathan Edwards.
 - A. The fuel for this lay buried in the pages of Edwards's great treatise on free will.
 - 1. Edwards wanted to demonstrate that human actions were divinely ordered yet still hold people morally accountable.
 - 2. Edwards called the necessity that involves force *natural necessity*.
 - 3. The other necessity, which arises from our own inclinations, Edwards called *moral necessity*.
 - 4. We possess all the *natural ability* we could ever want *not* to sin.
 - B. Edwards himself did not live long enough to put this into full play, but Samuel Hopkins of Massachusetts and Joseph Bellamy of Connecticut did.
 - 1. Hopkins taught that people were obliged to use all their natural ability to repent.
 - 2. They were also obligated to a life of utterly self-denying, "disinterested" benevolence toward others.
 - 3. Idealistic theological students flocked to Hopkins and Bellamy for ministerial apprenticeships.
 - 4. These "New Divinity" Edwardseans lit the bonfires of revival across New England in the Second Great Awakening.
 - 5. Nathanael Emmons and Asa Burton managed to create new subdivisions within the New Divinity, between the *Taste Scheme* and the *Exercise Scheme*.
 - 6. Charles Grandison Finney ignited revivals in the Mohawk River Valley and became one of the founders of Oberlin College.
- III. The intellectual heirs of Edwards turned the Second Great Awakening into a great cultural force.
 - A. In a secular republic, the revivalists wrenched control out of the hands of the Deists.
 - B. American religion did not need an official place in politics to have an influence.
 - 1. Closed off from making policy, the Edwardseans made converts.
 - 2. Unable to legislate, they organized independent societies for everything they were prevented from doing as organized churches, including abolishing slavery.
 - C. But revivalism was also a poor instrument for sustaining religious interest.
 - 1. Edwardsean revivalism called people to repentance but also out of society, out of their everyday lives.
 - 2. Its logical end was to turn people into come-outers and inflate a radical individualism.

Essential Reading:

C. Hambrick-Stowe, *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism*.

Supplementary Reading:

J. Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, chapters 7, 9.

L. Levy, *The Establishment Clause*, chapters 3–4.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways did American religion lose ground in the Revolution?
2. How did the Second Great Awakening restore cultural authority to American religion?

Lecture Twelve

The Moral Philosophers

Scope: The revivals were not the only way to bring the influence of religion back into public life. The Scottish common sense philosophy became a vehicle by which religious thinkers reintroduced religious morality onto the public square by cloaking it in “natural law.” These moral philosophers dominated the republic’s colleges and would have enjoyed even greater influence had they not failed to solve the knottiest of American problems in public ethics: slavery.

Outline

- I. Edwardsean revivalism was one way of solving the problem of how to generate virtue in a republic.
 - A. It was not, however, the way preferred by Deism or by confessional Protestants.
 - 1. Hamilton accepted that self-interest, rather than virtue, was the basic engine of human action.
 - 2. *The Federalist Papers* described the Constitution as a natural system that could work purely by checks and balances, rather than by virtue.
 - B. An alternative lay in the Scottish common sense philosophy.
 - 1. Before the Civil War, every major collegiate intellectual was a disciple of Scottish common sense realism.
 - 2. They wanted that epistemology to articulate a public ethic.
 - C. The common sense philosophy proceeded to build confidence in the reality of the mind’s perceptions.
 - 1. The human mind was neither passive nor mistaken in its apprehensions of a real exterior world.
 - 2. Purpose and intelligence in the universe also had to be real because these were the default position of human consciousness.
 - 3. The same intelligence and purpose can be perceived in human nature as well, on the principle of *analogy*.
 - 4. This common sense morality yielded moral laws without compelling people to embrace Protestant Christian theology.
 - 5. It also allowed Protestant Christians to slip the fundamentals of Christian morality into public affairs without the hubbub of revivalism.
 - 6. The principle of analogy worked so well that it was hard not to get carried away with it.
 - 7. On the other hand, the fact that morality was as real as physics did not mean that everyone naturally obeyed those laws.
 - a. People had free will.
 - b. A consistent pattern of unwise choices could harden the faculties and warp the soul.
- II. Scottish moral philosophy contained a number of important anxieties.
 - A. The first anxiety concerned whether moral philosophy had too little religion.
 - 1. The moral philosophers strained to present uniformity on moral basics.
 - 2. But they taught in church-related colleges that emphasized religious differences.
 - B. The second anxiety touched on its claims to a purely scientific, nonpartisan parentage.
 - 1. Phrenology tried to read physical nature *as* human nature.
 - 2. Racism tried to fuse human moral nature with differences in human physical nature.
 - C. The moral philosophers’ greatest problem was overreach. They achieved consensus only on trivial matters, never on critical issues, such as slavery.
 - D. But the failures of the moral philosophers were still important failures.
 - 1. They forced on their hearers a sense of their moral nature as human beings.
 - 2. Pragmatism and psychology gave no joy, and less humanity, than the moral philosophers.

Essential Reading:

J. Buchan, *Crowded with Genius*.

Supplementary Reading:

D. H. Meyer, *The Instructed Conscience*, chapters 1–2, 11–12.

T. D. Bozeman, *Protestants in an Age of Science*, chapter 4.

Questions to Consider:

1. What was the Scottish “common sense” philosophy and why was it so influential during this time
2. What was the role of analogy in this philosophy?

Timeline

1636	Harvard College is founded.
1687	William Brattle writes <i>A Compendium of Logick, According to Modern Philosophy</i> to introduce the Cartesian method to Harvard.
1690	John Locke's <i>Essay Concerning Human Understanding</i> is published.
1701	Yale College is founded.
1722	The "Great Apostacie" at Yale: The rector, Timothy Cutler, and four tutors renounce Congregationalism.
1723	Benjamin Franklin arrives in Philadelphia.
1729	Jonathan Edwards becomes pastor of the church in Northampton, Massachusetts.
1732	Franklin begins publication of <i>Poor Richard's Almanac</i> .
1734	First "awakening" in Northampton, Massachusetts.
1739–1741	The Great Awakening.
1754	King's College (Columbia) is founded, with Samuel Johnson as president; Jonathan Edwards publishes <i>Freedom of the Will</i> .
1768	John Witherspoon becomes president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton).
1776	Thomas Jefferson writes the Declaration of Independence.
1781–1782	Thomas Jefferson writes <i>Notes on the State of Virginia</i> .
1786	Virginia adopts Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom.
1787	Philadelphia Convention composes the Constitution.
1801	John Marshall is named Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.
1812	Princeton Theological Seminary is founded, with Archibald Alexander as first professor.
1829	James Marsh publishes an American edition of Coleridge's <i>Aids to Reflection</i> .
1831	William Lloyd Garrison begins publishing <i>The Liberator</i> .
1834	Henry Clay calls for creation of the Whig Party.
1835	First edition of Francis Wayland's <i>Elements of Moral Science</i> is published.
1836	Ralph Waldo Emerson publishes <i>Nature</i> .
1837	Emerson delivers "The American Scholar" address to the Phi Beta Kappa society at Harvard.
1840	John Williamson Nevin joins faculty of German Reformed seminary in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania.
1841	Brook Farm community is established.
1847	Horace Bushnell publishes <i>Christian Nurture</i> .
1859	Darwin's <i>Origin of Species</i> is published.
1860	Abraham Lincoln is elected 16 th president.
1861–1865	The American Civil War takes place.

1863.....	Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation.
1866.....	William Torrey Harris begins publishing <i>The Journal of Speculative Philosophy</i> .
1869.....	Charles William Eliot becomes president of Harvard.
1873.....	Charles Hodge publishes <i>Systematic Theology</i> in three volumes.
1876.....	Johns Hopkins University is founded as the first American graduate research institution.
1878.....	Charles Sanders Peirce publishes “How to Make Our Ideas Clear.”
1879.....	Henry George proposes “single tax” in <i>Progress and Poverty</i> .
1882.....	Josiah Royce joins the faculty of Harvard.
1886.....	Haymarket Riot; Edward Bellamy begins writing <i>Looking Backward</i> ; Henry W. Grady delivers “New South” speech; Walter Rauschenbusch is ordained pastor of German Baptist congregation in New York City.
1890.....	William James’s <i>Principles of Psychology</i> is published.
1893.....	Charles Augustus Briggs is suspended from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church.
1894.....	Strike of the Pullman workers blossoms into national railroad strike; John Dewey arrives at the University of Chicago.
1895.....	Booker T. Washington delivers “Atlanta Exposition Address.”
1896.....	Dewey opens the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago and publishes “The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology”; Franz Boas is appointed director of the American Museum of Natural History; U.S. Supreme Court legitimizes racial segregation in <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> .
1901.....	Theodore Roosevelt succeeds the assassinated William McKinley as 26 th president.
1903.....	W. E. B. Du Bois publishes <i>The Souls of Black Folk</i> .
1907.....	James delivers the Lowell Lectures on <i>Pragmatism</i> .
1908.....	Henry Ford introduces the Model T.
1909.....	Herbert Croly publishes the Progressives’ manifesto, <i>The Promise of American Life</i> .
1911.....	Frederick Winslow Taylor sums up his theories on workplace efficiency in <i>The Principles of Scientific Management</i> .
1912.....	Woodrow Wilson is elected 28 th president.
1915.....	Reinhold Niebuhr becomes pastor of church in Detroit.
1917.....	United States enters World War I.
1920.....	Sinclair Lewis publishes <i>Main Street</i> .
1925.....	The Scopes trial takes place in Dayton, Tennessee.
October 24, 1929.....	New York Stock Market crashes and the Great Depression begins.
1930.....	Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, and Robert Penn Warren publish <i>I’ll Take My Stand</i> .
1932.....	Niebuhr attacks Dewey in <i>Moral Man and Immoral Society</i> .

1934.....	Ruth Benedict publishes <i>Patterns of Culture</i> ; Elijah Muhammad assumes leadership of the Nation of Islam.
May 6, 1935.....	Harry Hopkins organizes the Works Project Administration.
1939.....	Albert Einstein writes to Franklin D. Roosevelt to apprise him of developments in physics that could make an atomic bomb possible.
1941.....	Erich Fromm publishes <i>Escape from Freedom</i> ; United States enters World War II.
1944.....	Friedrich Hayek's <i>Road to Serfdom</i> is published; Congress passes Servicemen's Readjustment Act.
1945.....	Yalta Conference; atomic bomb is dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
1948.....	B. F. Skinner publishes <i>Walden II</i> ; James Baldwin leaves the United States for France; Whittaker Chambers denounces Alger Hiss as a Soviet spy.
1953.....	Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are executed as Soviet spies.
1955.....	<i>National Review</i> is founded by William F. Buckley; Herbert Marcuse publishes <i>Eros and Civilization</i> ; Rosa Parks refuses to give up her bus seat in Montgomery, Alabama.
1956.....	Lawrence Alloway coins the term <i>pop art</i> .
1962.....	The Port Huron Statement heralds the arrival of the New Left.
1963.....	Betty Friedan publishes <i>The Feminine Mystique</i> .
1964.....	Free Speech Movement confrontation at Berkeley; Civil Rights Act is passed by Congress.
1965.....	Malcolm X is assassinated; riot consumes Watts district of Los Angeles.
April 4, 1968.....	Martin Luther King is assassinated.
May 4, 1970.....	National Guardsmen open fire on antiwar demonstrators at Kent State University.
1973.....	Vietnam War ends.
1980.....	Ronald Reagan is elected 40 th president.
1987.....	Allan Bloom's <i>The Closing of the American Mind</i> becomes a surprise bestseller.
1995.....	<i>The Weekly Standard</i> is founded as journal for Straussian Neo-Conservatives.
2000.....	George W. Bush is elected 43 rd president.

Glossary

Abolitionist: An advocate of the immediate abolition of slavery, a position best illustrated in William Lloyd Garrison.

Agrarian: Term applied to the view that land and agriculture are the only true sources of wealth and that a society based on agriculture is socially and morally superior to one based on industrial capitalism.

Analogy: A method that discovered lawlike order in human consciousness by extrapolating from observations of lawlike behavior in physical nature.

Anthropology: The study of the technological, cultural, and social patterns of human life. Pioneered by Franz Boas and popularized through the work of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead.

Behaviorism: A form of psychology that asserts that actual behavior is the only legitimate object of psychological study and that behavior modification is to be achieved through the manipulation and conditioning of responses.

Calvinism: A school of Protestant Christian theology that stresses the absolute sovereignty of God and the dependence of human will on God's prior decree.

Capitalism: A set of economic and social relations in which one class owns the means of production and another class provides the labor, with (a) profit for the first class coming from the surplus value it is able to charge over and above the wages of the laborers and (b) the profit being turned into investment in more production or capital.

“Common sense”: Concept developed by Thomas Reid and Francis Hutcheson, who argued that human moral judgments were made instinctively and uniformly or commonly.

Deism: A generalized belief in a creator who superintends human events only generally and according to natural law.

Enlightenment: An intellectual event that set aside traditional religious and philosophical authority in preference for empirical observation and criticism of conventional social and political arrangements and that advocated reliance on the adequacy of human reason for the solution of problems. Often associated with the promotion of **natural law**, **liberalism**, and **republicanism** (q.v.).

Epistemology: General philosophical term for theories about how minds know things.

Great Awakening: A large-scale religious revival, lasting from 1739–1741. Its most prominent figure was George Whitefield.

Half-Way Covenant: Adopted in 1662 by a general synod of church representatives from the Puritan churches of Massachusetts Bay, the Half-Way Covenant was a compromise position on the question of who was entitled to admission to communion and baptism in the Congregational churches of the Bay Colony. With the waning of active piety in Massachusetts society, the 1662 synod decided to permit the baptism of the children of colonists who did not qualify for full church membership but to deny them access to communion. This compromise was denounced by Jonathan Edwards, who wished to return to the more demanding piety of the full-membership requirements in the 1740s. The term was first invented in 1790 by Edwards's pupil, Joseph Bellamy.

Idealism: Philosophical doctrine that minds know only ideas and have no reliable access to objects in an external world.

Immaterialism: A form of idealism that argues that all existence and causality consist of the mind of God, the finite minds he has created, and the ideas God imparts to them.

Irony: An attitude of observation that stresses the failure of human intentions to produce the results they expect; as promoted by Reinhold Niebuhr, it encouraged an attitude of realistic humility about social reform and the aspirations of American foreign policy.

Liberalism: Term originally applied to opponents of the monarchy who urged the restructuring of society by reason and civic morality rather than by inherited tradition or religious authority. *Economic* liberalism was identified in the 19th century with free trade, free markets, and social mobility, but *liberalism* was more often used in the 20th century to describe a cultural position of permissiveness, dissent from religious orthodoxy, and moderate Left politics.

Moral philosophy: Investigation of the philosophical basis for ethical questions.

Natural law: (a) The instinctive moral precepts that reside in all human consciousness; (b) the physical laws by which the natural world can be shown to operate.

Natural selection: The key concept of Darwinian evolution, in which random mutations in living beings provide a particular advantage in the struggle for survival over other beings, causing the latter to die out and the former to multiply and, in turn, resulting in the gradual evolution of the survivors into different species.

Neo-Conservative: Term applied by Irving Kristol to members of the Old Left who rebelled against antidemocratic developments in liberal and New Left political thought.

New Deal: Program of relief measures implemented by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to deal with the economic impact of the Great Depression.

New Left: Term applied to radical critics of the 1950s and 1960s who criticized American democracy as a sham and favored substitution of students and intellectuals for the working class as the vanguard of an anticapitalist revolution.

New Light: Term applied to the supporters of the Great Awakening.

Populism: Agrarian protest movement that criticized the control of railroads and finance over western agriculture. The best-known Populist figure was William Jennings Bryan.

Pragmatism: Philosophical doctrine formulated by Charles Sanders Peirce and popularized by William James that identified truth as the principles upon which an individual was prepared to act in a given situation.

Progressives: Middle-class reform movement that sought to use professionalism to eliminate corruption in government and use government oversight to rationalize social service.

Realism: Philosophical doctrine that argues that minds have dependable sensations of the external world. *Representational* realism taught that ideas mediate the contact of the mind with external reality but nevertheless afford dependable information on objects in the external world. *Direct* realism taught that minds are directly and noninferentially aware of objects in the external world.

Recapitulation: Anthropological concept that taught that all societies follow the same pattern of development, although they may be at different stages of that development at any given time.

Reconstruction: Philosophical method recommended by John Dewey that urged the application of pragmatism to social questions, the abolition of religious considerations, and the substitution of the scientific method in determining social policy.

Republicanism: Political concept that rooted sovereignty in the people of a given polity rather than in an aristocracy or theocracy. Republics exist on a spectrum of being more or less democratic in their actual structure. *Classical* republicanism refers to republics that emphasize the public interest over private interest and was often **agrarian** (q.v.) in outlook; *liberal* republicanism refers to the promotion of private interest as the most efficient way of producing public good and was often associated with an accommodation between democracy and capitalism.

Revival: A communal renewal of religious interest and enthusiasm. The best example is the Great Awakening.

Romanticism: Cultural doctrine that opposed the Enlightenment's focus on reason at the expense of nonrational factors in human decisions, such as race or "the sublime."

Scholasticism: A method of inquiry based on logical analysis of propositions and guided by Aristotelian concepts of causality. The basic learning method of the late medieval European universities and 17th-century Protestant theologians.

Social Darwinism: Adaptation of natural selection by Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner to social criticism, in which interventions by government or charity in the economic and social survival of citizens were discouraged as a violation of the principles of evolution.

"Social Gospel": Term applied to the teachings of Walter Rauschenbusch that substituted social intervention by the church for concerns with revivalism and theological orthodoxy.

Socialism: Political and economic doctrine that argued that the means of production should be owned or managed by society as a whole so as to prevent individual accumulations of capital.

Technologia (Latin): Comprehensive scholastic systems devised to provide encyclopedia-like explanations of philosophy and theology.

Theology: The study of the nature and being of God.

Transcendentalism: Term applied to Kantian Romanticism that referred to matters that *transcended* the capacities of reason and to the method of examining the prerational suppositions that underlie and control the processes of reason.

Whig: (a) Political term that described the opposition antimonarchical party in the 18th-century English Parliament; (b) name adopted by Henry Clay for the Whig party to identify the critics of Andrew Jackson with the 18th-century parliamentary opposition to Jackson's "monarchy" as president.

Biographical Notes

Henry Adams (1838–1918). Great-grandson of John Adams (third president of the United States). Graduated from Harvard College (1858) and served as secretary to his father, Charles Francis Adams, while the latter was American minister to Great Britain during the Civil War. Joined the history department at Harvard (1870–1877). Caustic critic of the Gilded Age. Wrote *History of the United States* (1889–1891), *Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres* (1904), and *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907).

Edward Bellamy (1850–1898). Journalist and writer. Wrote the quasi-socialist utopian novel, *Looking Backward* (1887), predicting a hopeful resolution of “the social question” of labor and capitalism.

Ruth Benedict (1887–1948). Anthropologist. Graduated from Vassar College (1909) and studied anthropology under Franz Boas at Columbia University, where she earned a Ph.D. in 1923. She taught at Columbia from 1928–1948. Her 1934 book, *Patterns of Culture*, shaped the development of anthropology as a discipline.

Horace Bushnell (1802–1876). Congregational clergyman and theologian. Graduated from Yale College (1827) and was ordained pastor of North Church, Hartford, Connecticut. Published *Christian Nurture* (1847) and *God in Christ* (1849), which introduced Romantic theories of language to Protestant theology.

Eugene V. Debs (1855–1926). Socialist and labor advocate, he was president of the American Railway Union during the Pullman strike of 1894. Ran as the Socialist candidate for president in 1900–1912 and again in 1920. Jailed during World War I by the Wilson administration for advocating resistance to the draft.

John Dewey (1859–1952). Philosopher and educator. Graduated from the University of Vermont (1879) and Johns Hopkins University (Ph.D., 1888). Taught at the University of Michigan and University of Chicago, where he invented a social version of pragmatism and applied it through the founding of the Laboratory School. Moved to Columbia University in 1904 and became an advocate for pragmatic “reconstruction” of philosophy.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868–1963). Journalist, educator, and activist. Graduated from Fisk University (1888) and Harvard College (1890). Editor of *The Crisis* (1910–1934) and author of the most important articulation of black American racial consciousness, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903).

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). Congregational clergyman and theologian. Graduated from Yale College (1720) and called as pastor of the church of Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1729. Promoted “awakenings” in 1734–1735 and 1739–1741, which he described and defended in *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God* (1737). Wrote philosophical defenses of Calvinist theology in *Freedom of the Will* (1754) and *Original Sin* (1758). Briefly president of Princeton (1757–1758).

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882). Unitarian clergyman and author. Graduated from Harvard College (1822) and served as minister of the Second Church, Boston (1829–1832). Wrote *Nature* (1836) as an American Romantic declaration. Delivered “The American Scholar” (1837) as a call for an intellectual break with Europe and the Divinity School Address (at Harvard) in 1838 as a repudiation of traditional Unitarian theology.

Henry George (1839–1897). Laborer, journalist, and economist. Wrote *Progress and Poverty* (1879) to propose a “single-tax” solution for redistributing industrial wealth.

Charles Hodge (1797–1878). Presbyterian clergyman and theologian. Graduated from Princeton (1819) and became second professor (with Archibald Alexander) at Princeton Theological Seminary. His *Systematic Theology* (1873) was a landmark of conservative Protestant thought and represented the incorporation of Scottish common sense moral philosophy into American theology.

William James (1842–1910). Philosopher and psychologist. Graduated from Harvard Medical School (1868) and joined the faculty of Harvard in 1870, where he established the first psychology laboratory. His *Principles of Psychology* (1890) was a major force in overthrowing “faculty” psychology, but he was even better known for formulating a philosophy of pragmatism in his Lowell Lectures, *Pragmatism* (1908).

Martin Luther King (1929–1968). Baptist theologian and civil rights activist. Graduated from Morehouse College (1948) and Boston University (Ph.D., 1955). Became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1954 and assumed leadership of the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. Eventually became the most prominent spokesman for black civil rights in the nation.

James Marsh (1794–1842). President of the University of Vermont (1826–1833). Introduced American readers to Romantic Kantianism through his edition of S. T. Coleridge’s *Aids to Reflection* (1829).

Margaret Mead (1901–1978). Anthropologist. Graduated from Barnard College in 1923 and studied anthropology under Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict at Columbia University, where she earned a Ph.D. in 1929. Her fieldwork in the Pacific islands resulted in the most popular anthropological work of the 20th century, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928). She was a curator at the American Museum of Natural History from 1926–1969.

Henry Louis Mencken (1880–1956). Journalist and literary critic. Starting as a cub reporter, he rose to become a staff journalist and columnist for the *Baltimore Morning Herald* and the *Baltimore Sun*. Co-edited *The Smart Set* (1908–1923) and edited the *American Mercury* (1924–1933). He was best known for his caustic coverage of the Scopes “Monkey Trial.”

John Williamson Nevin (1803–1886). German Reformed theologian. Graduated from Union College (1821) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1826). Joined the faculty of the German Reformed theological seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, where he used conservative Romanticism to criticize revivalism in *The Anxious Bench* (1843) and *The Mystical Presence* (1846).

Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971). German Evangelical pastor, seminary professor, and theologian. Joined the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in 1928 and, through *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932) and *The Irony of American History* (1951), became a major critic of liberal optimism.

Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914). Mathematician and philosopher. Wrote the first statement of pragmatism in “How to Make Our Ideas Clear” in 1877. Held teaching positions only briefly at Harvard and Johns Hopkins, but his success at alienating people prevented him from ever finding a permanent position.

Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918). German Baptist pastor and theologian. His work as a pastor in New York City led to his articulation of the “Social Gospel.” From 1897, he was a professor at Rochester Theological Seminary, where he wrote *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), *Christianizing the Social Order* (1912), and *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1918).

Josiah Royce (1855–1916). Philosopher. Graduated from the University of California (1875) and Johns Hopkins University (Ph.D., 1878). Taught at the University of California, then joined the faculty of Harvard in 1882. Dissented from William James’s pragmatic empiricism and fashioned a pragmatic version of absolute idealism in *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy* (1885) and *The World and the Individual* (1900–1901).

Leo Strauss (1899–1973). Political philosopher. Born in Germany, he was briefly conscripted into the German Army (1917–1918). He earned a Ph.D. from Hamburg in 1921, studied in Paris and London, then emigrated to New York City in 1937, where he taught at the New School for Social Research (1938–1948). He moved to the University of Chicago in 1949 and became the father-figure to the Neo-Conservative movement.

Francis Wayland (1796–1865). Baptist clergyman and president of Brown University (1827–1855). Graduated from Union College (1813) and wrote the most popular textbook on moral philosophy, *Elements of Moral Science* (1835), and a major work on Whig economics, *Elements of Political Economy* (1837).

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———. *Moral Philosophy at Seventeenth-Century Harvard*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981. Another unjustly neglected work of genius, opening up the currents of high-level intellectual conflict and change at Harvard during the 17th century, as New Englanders tried to find an accommodation between their inherited Calvinist scholasticism and the "New Logic" emerging from the early Enlightenment.

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Fleming, Thomas. *The Illusion of Victory: America in World War I*. New York: Basic Books, 2003. An account of how American intervention in World War I fell dramatically short of Woodrow Wilson's expectations once the war ended, the Versailles Treaty was signed, and Congress rebuffed the League of Nations.

———. *The New Dealers' War: F.D.R. and the War within World War II*. New York: Basic Books, 2001. Surveys how the New Deal was retooled to become the structure for dealing with World War II.

Flower, Elizabeth, and Murray G. Murphey. *A History of Philosophy in America*. New York: Putnam, 1977. The standard two-volume account of the main schools of American philosophy.

Fox, Richard W. *Reinhold Niebuhr: A Biography*. New York: Pantheon, 1985. An outstanding biography of Niebuhr, gracefully intertwining Niebuhr's life and ideas.

Fraysse, Olivier. *Lincoln, Land, and Labor, 1809–1860*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. Written from a French Marxist point of view, Fraysse's book nevertheless brilliantly underscores Lincoln's Whiggish commitment to open markets and capitalist development.

Freeman, Derek. *Margaret Mead and Samoa*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983. This book, a sensation when it first appeared, examines and questions the legitimacy of Mead's research and conclusions and, through her, of the reputation of Franz Boas.

Friedman, Norman. *Fifty-Year War: Conflict and Strategy in the Cold War*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2000. A useful survey of the onset and resolution of the Cold War from a military point of view.

Gura, Philip F. *Jonathan Edwards: America's Evangelical*. New York: Hill & Wang, 2005. A fine, short overview of Edwards's life and major writings.

Hambrick-Stowe, Charles. *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988. A thorough account of Finney's life and of the Edwardsean influences that shaped his thinking.

Hamby, Alonzo L. *For the Survival of Democracy: Franklin Roosevelt and the World Crisis of the 1930s*. New York: Free Press, 2004. A vigorous account of FDR's handling of the worldwide economic crisis, especially as measured against the failures of European governments to cope.

Harlan, Louis R. *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901–1915*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983. A forceful argument on behalf of the principles and integrity of Washington.

Hart, D. G. *John Williamson Nevin: High Church Calvinist*. Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing Co., 2005. A strongly sympathetic account of Nevin as a critic of superficiality in 19th-century American religion.

Haynes, John Earl, and Harvey Klehr. *In Denial: Historians, Communism and Sabotage*. San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2003. A strongly argued rebuttal, based on new documents released in the 1990s, to the claims during the 1950s that no significant recruitment of Soviet spies took place among American scientists and politicians.

Hershberg, James. *James B. Conant: Harvard to Hiroshima and the Making of the Nuclear Age*. New York: Knopf, 1993. A thorough account of the president of Harvard University who argued for intellectual merit, rather than social standing, as the basis for broadening American universities and who sat on the council that advised President Truman on the dropping of the atomic bomb.

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Howe, Daniel Walker. *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997. Traces the impact of Scottish Enlightenment thought on the development of American public ethics from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century and concludes with a sympathetic celebration of 19th-century moral philosophy.

———. *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979. A brilliant survey of the cultural values that attached themselves to the political policies of the Whig party, along with chapters devoted to individual Whig thinkers to show how the cultural issues were wedded to their political advocacy. (The chapter on Abraham Lincoln is the finest short essay ever written on Lincoln.)

Hutchison, William R. *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976. The finest general survey of the development and growth of theological liberalism in American Protestantism, from the Gilded Age to the 1950s.

Kammen, Michael. *American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change and the 20th Century*. New York: Knopf, 1999. A provocative exploration of the varieties of American culture, in the process examining much of the critique of American popular culture and mass culture in the 1950s.

Kazin, Alfred. *God and the American Writer*. New York: Knopf, 1997. The last collection of essays from an outstanding American literary critic, with chapters on Abraham Lincoln, Emily Dickinson, and William James, all illustrating the outsize role played by religion in the American literary imagination up to the Civil War.

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Larson, Edward John. *When All the Gods Trembled: Darwinism, Scopes, and American Intellectuals*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998. An outstanding, and surprisingly sympathetic, account of the 1925 Scopes "Monkey Trial."

Le Beau, Bryan. *Jonathan Dickinson and the Formative Years of American Presbyterianism*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997. A close look at one of the leading but oft-ignored figures in American theological and intellectual history.

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Madden, Edward H. *Chauncey Wright*. New York: Washington Square, 1964. A brief but skillful and illuminating biography of Wright, with particular attention to how Wright introduced Darwinian thinking to American philosophy.

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Miller, Perry. *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953. A historical treatment of the decline of Puritan ideas through the 18th century.

———. *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. Miller's greatest work as the dean of American intellectual historians, laying out in a topical fashion the map of Puritan beliefs in the 17th century.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Builders of the Bay Colony*, Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2004. Twelve masterful portraits of the political, religious, economic, and intellectual leaders of the first generation of Massachusetts Bay Puritans, told with the verve of a great narrator

———. *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956. A brief survey of Puritan writing and thinking, with attention to the institutional life of Harvard.

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Myers, Gerald E. *William James: His Life and Thought*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986. The standard biography of James, with exhaustive treatments of his ideas and writings.

O'Donnell, John M. *The Origins of Behaviorism: American Psychology, 1870–1920*. New York: New York University Press, 1985. A landmark account of the emergence of psychology as an independent discipline, along with the colorful and sometimes bizarre careers of its creators.

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Remini, Robert V. *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union*. New York: Norton, 1990. A big, sprawling celebration of Henry Clay as the embodiment of the Whig ideal of impartial statesmanship in addressing the problems of the Union.

Richardson, Robert D. *Emerson: The Mind on Fire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. A great biography of Emerson and exploration of Emerson's ideas.

Ross, Dorothy. *The Origins of American Social Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. A detailed and complex account of how American social science forged its identity as an academic discipline in the years between the Civil War and the 1920s.

Samuels, Ernest. *Henry Adams*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989. A sturdy account of the life and writings of Henry Adams.

Schlereth, Thomas J. *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876–1915*. New York: HarperCollins, 1991. A well-informed survey of post–Civil War American life, teeming with data and organized topically around work, leisure, play, and home.

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Smith, John E. *Jonathan Edwards: Puritan, Preacher, Philosopher*. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992. A highly perceptive and useful collection of essays on each of Edwards's major writings.

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Stewart, John W., and James H. Moorhead, eds. *Charles Hodge Revisited: A Critical Appraisal of His Life and Work*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002. A collection of essays, emerging from a bicentennial conference at

Princeton, on various aspects of Charles Hodge and Hodge's place in the context of American speculative thought in the 19th century.

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Turner, James. *Without God, Without Creed: The Origins of Unbelief in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985. A provocative, exciting, and well-argued indictment of the 19th-century Protestant religious establishment for clumsily trying to fashion weapons against unbelief that were then turned around and used on them.

Warch, James. *School of the Prophets: Yale College, 1701–1740*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973. An excellent survey of the founding decades of Yale College, with particular attention to the disruptions of the Great Awakening.

Welch, Claude. *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972. After more than 30 years, Welch's two-volume survey of European and American Protestantism remains the best overview account of the great schools of Protestant thought in the 19th century.

Westbrook, Robert B. *John Dewey and American Democracy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991. A gracefully written account of the centrality of the idea of democracy to Dewey's thinking and how he struggled to reform and reshape it in response to the challenges posed by war, labor unrest, and the internecine quarrels of the American Left in the 1930s and 1940s.

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Zuckerman, Michael. *Almost Chosen People: Oblique Biographies in the American Grain*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993. Zuckerman, a talented historian and social critic, presents a collection of essays covering subjects as diverse as the Pilgrims, Jefferson, Alger, Barnum, Spock, and Reagan.

Internet Resources:

Boston University. "Modern Intellectual History." *Cambridge Journals Online*.

http://journals.cambridge.org/journal_ModernIntellectualHistory. Boston University's *Intellectual History Newsletter*, first published as an annual in 1979, has also been a major resource for articles on American intellectual history and teaching materials and is now published by Cambridge University Press under the name *Modern Intellectual History*.

The Charles S. Peirce Society. <http://www.peircesociety.org/index.html>. The Charles S. Peirce Society maintains a website on its remarkable journal, *The Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society*, which publishes some of the most stimulating material on the history of American philosophy available.

Clarke, Richard L. W. *PhilWeb: Philosophy Resources On- and Offline*.

<http://humanities.uwichill.edu/bb/RLWClarke/PhilWeb/Regions/USA/USA.htm>. This website has a wide variety of online resources relating to the history of American philosophy.

Cornell University and the University of Michigan. *Making of America*. <http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa/> and <http://www.hti.umich.edu/m/moagrp/>. Both websites offer unrivalled access to 19th-century magazines and books in PDF and text-searchable formats. The University of Michigan's *Making of America* site makes available the texts of these key works in 19th-century American intellectual life:

- Louis Agassiz, *Principles of Zoölogy* (Boston, 1870).
- Archibald Alexander, *Outlines of Moral Science* (New York, 1854).
- Francis Bowen, *A Treatise on Logic; or, The Laws of Pure Thought* (Cambridge, 1864).
- Henry Charles Carey, *The Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing and Commercial* (New York, 1852).

- James H. Fairchild, *Moral Philosophy* (New York, 1869).
- Mark Hopkins, *Lectures on Moral Science* (Boston, 1863).
- Josiah Quincy, *The History of Harvard University*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1860).
- Henry Philip Tappan, *Elements of Logic* (New York, 1856).

Duncan, E. H. Baylor University. "American Moral Philosophy in the 19th Century: A Bibliographical Essay on Original Sources." http://www3.baylor.edu/~Elmer_Duncan/ammoralphil.htm. This is a valuable resource on 19th-century moral philosophy, with hyperlinks to a broad variety of electronic texts.

The Pragmatism Cybrary. www.pragmatism.org. This is pragmatism's own website, with links to electronic archives and to organizations, articles, and resources about a broad variety of topics in American intellectual history and societies and study centers dedicated to the study of William James (http://www.pragmatism.org/societies/william_james.htm) and John Dewey (<http://www.siu.edu/~deweyctr/>).

Public Broadcasting System. "Booker T. and W.E.B.: The Debate between W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington." *The Two Nations of Black America*.

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/race/etc/road.html>. This site offers links to key writings of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois.

The following websites offer access to online editions of works and papers by their respective authors:

- The Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University. <http://edwards.yale.edu/>
- Jone Johnson Lewis. "Ralph Waldo Emerson—Texts." <http://www.emersoncentral.com/>
- University of Virginia. "Thomas Jefferson Digital Archive." <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/jefferson/>
- The Abraham Lincoln Association. <http://www.alincolnassoc.com/>
- Stanford University. "Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project." <http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/>
- "Herbert Marcuse Official Homepage." <http://www.marcuse.org/herbert/>

The American Mind

Part II

Professor Allen C. Guelzo



THE TEACHING COMPANY ®

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Dr. Allen C. Guelzo is the Henry R. Luce Professor of the Civil War Era and Director of Civil War Era Studies at Gettysburg College in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. He is also the Associate Director of the Civil War Institute at Gettysburg College. He was born in Yokohama, Japan, but grew up in Philadelphia. He holds an M.A. and Ph.D. in history from the University of Pennsylvania, where he wrote his dissertation under the direction of Bruce Kuklick, Alan C. Kors, and Richard S. Dunn. Dr. Guelzo taught at Drexel University and, for 13 years, at Eastern University in St. Davids, Pennsylvania. At Eastern, he was the Grace Ferguson Kea Professor of American History, and from 1998 to 2004, he was the founding dean of the Templeton Honors College at Eastern.

Dr. Guelzo is the author of numerous books on American intellectual history and on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War era, beginning with his first work, *Edwards on the Will: A Century of American Theological Debate, 1750–1850* (Wesleyan University Press, 1989). His second book, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians, 1873–1930* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), won the Outler Prize for Ecumenical Church History of the American Society of Church History. He wrote *The Crisis of the American Republic: A History of the Civil War and Reconstruction* for the St. Martin's Press *American History* series in 1995 and followed that with an edition of Josiah G. Holland's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1866) in 1998 for the "Bison Books" series of classic Lincoln biography reprints of the University of Nebraska Press. Dr. Guelzo's book *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President* (Wm. Eerdmans, 1999) won both the Lincoln Prize and the Abraham Lincoln Institute Prize in 2000. In 2003, his article, "Defending Emancipation: Abraham Lincoln and the Conkling Letter, August, 1863," won Civil War History's John T. Hubbell Prize for the best article of that year. Dr. Guelzo's most recent work, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* (Simon & Schuster, 2004), also won the Lincoln Institute Prize and the Lincoln Prize for 2005, making him the first double Lincoln Laureate in the history of both prizes. He is now at work on a new book on the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, also for Simon & Schuster.

Dr. Guelzo has written for *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *First Things*, the *Claremont Review of Books*, and *Books and Culture* and has been featured on NPR's "Weekend Edition Sunday" and Brian Lamb's "Booknotes." He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Abraham Lincoln Association, the Abraham Lincoln Institute, and the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church; a member of the advisory councils of the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission and the McNeil Center for Early American Studies (at the University of Pennsylvania); and a member of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, the Society of Civil War Historians, and the Union League of Philadelphia. Dr. Guelzo has been a fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies (1991–1992), the McNeil Center for Early American Studies (1992–1993), the Charles Warren Center for American Studies at Harvard University (1994–1995), and the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University (2002–2003). Professor Guelzo's other Teaching Company courses include *Mr. Lincoln: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* and *History of the United States, 2nd Edition*, which he team-taught with Patrick Allitt and Gary W. Gallagher.

Dr. Guelzo lives in Paoli and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, with his wife, Debra.

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The American Mind

Scope:

This Teaching Company lecture series offers a broad survey of American intellectual history. It is a history of the ideas, the thinkers, and the institutions that have mattered most to Americans as a people. The 36 lectures in this series are built around six basic themes in American thinking:

1. The fundamental struggle for importance between intellect and will—in other words, whether it is more important for us to think or to act.
2. The persistence of religious ideas as a living part of American intellectual life.
3. The formation of two souls in the American consciousness, one the product of Puritan religion and the other the product of America's embrace of the Enlightenment.
4. The struggle between liberty and power in a democratic society, as seen in the liberal capitalism of Alexander Hamilton and Abraham Lincoln, and the fierce suspicion of commercial societies seen in Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.
5. The dramatic shift in categories of American thinking that occurred in the post-Civil War decades, which turned Americans away from traditional philosophical and social thinking and toward pragmatism and secularism.
6. The dilemmas posed by the American ascent to world power through two world wars and the responsibilities that have come with it.

We'll begin in Lecture One by confronting a fundamental problem that occurs whenever we try to speak of an "American mind." Americans like to think of themselves as a practical, hands-on, results-oriented kind of people. How can we be such a hard-headed nation and still really have an *intellectual* history? Part of the answer to that question begins with Lecture Two, where we examine the Puritans, who combined a strong scholastic intellectual inheritance with a deep and uneasy piety that pitted will and intellect against each other in ways that continue to echo in our ears. We move almost at once in Lecture Three to what is supposed to be the antithesis of Puritan piety, and that is the American Enlightenment—only to find that the Enlightenment was not without its own pious unease. In fact, we'll find in Lecture Four that one of the brightest gems in the American Enlightenment was also one of its most determined Puritans, Jonathan Edwards. Lecture Five will, in the same way, use the premier intellectual institutions of early America—its colleges—to illustrate how the Enlightenment and piety struggled unevenly for advantage and sometimes for common ground.

Lectures Six through Eight explore the ways in which Enlightenment Americans turned their attention from the loftier realms of God and truth to politics and why the English Whig republicans exerted so strong a hold on the American revolutionaries. Two of those revolutionaries, Hamilton and Jefferson, joined to found a new republican government but soon discovered (as we'll see in Lectures Nine and Ten) that there could be two powerfully contradictory ways of thinking about a republic, depending on whether one drank from the fountain of *classical* republicanism or *liberal* republicanism. There might even be a third way, as Lectures Eleven and Twelve will show, if one allows religion to have its say, as indeed it did, in the very different forms of Edwardsean revivalism and collegiate moral philosophy.

Lectures Thirteen through Seventeen explore the ways in which these notions of being a republic were tried in the fire of ideological controversy—Jacksonians and Whigs, Romantics and Rationalists, slaveholders and abolitionists—all of which culminated in the explosive conflict of the American Civil War. Lecture Eighteen, focusing on Abraham Lincoln, shows us how very much the Civil War was a struggle of ideas as well as armies. In fact, it shows how very much a man of ideas could live within the skin of a professional politician.

The war assured victory to one side in the great struggle of ideas and culture. But it was an enormously costly struggle, and it left the victors unable to deal with a fresh set of challenges—disillusion with the shallowness of victory (Lecture Nineteen); the impact of Charles Darwin, which amounted to a sort of second Enlightenment (Lecture Twenty); and the scramble of American religion to define a new place for itself in industrial America (Lecture Twenty-One). A handful of thinkers—with Josiah Royce as the principal example—tried to find a new ground for stability and absolute truths, but Royce stood little chance against the cheerful philosophical pragmatism

of William James or the aggressive social pragmatism of John Dewey (Lectures Twenty-Two through Twenty-Four). Neither Dewey nor James was half so radical in the face of the new industrial society as America's turn-of-the-century socialists, Populists, and Progressives, whom we meet in Lectures Twenty-Five and Twenty-Six and who found Lincoln's liberal capitalism no solution to the dilemmas of an industrial working class.

But if they hoped for a better economic world than the one the Civil War made, they were unprepared for the disillusion imposed by World War I, which began as a Progressive crusade but quickly turned into a celebration of intellectual disgust with idealism of any sort (Lecture Twenty-Seven). Progressivist idealism, as well as liberal capitalism and religious absolutes, were dismissed by the new social scientists, who appear in Lecture Twenty-Eight, as cultural accidents rather than eternal truths. America's ongoing racial hypocrisy, which we chronicle in Lecture Twenty-Nine, now came to the surface for the first time since the Civil War as a national disgrace, and although the Great Depression and World War II gave American intellectuals a fresh opportunity to rally around the possibilities of a democratic future, Lectures Thirty through Thirty-Two show that American thinkers—especially its scientists—were ill-equipped to deal with dilemmas that turned out to be quite unscientifically religious.

The post-World War II decades were the last fling of Progressive thinking, as American intellectuals increasingly prophesied the collapse of American thinking under the sheer weight of mindless consumerism (Lecture Thirty-Three). They barely noticed that the most successful reform movement of the day, the Civil Rights Movement (Lecture Thirty-Four), turned out to be profoundly religious at its core. The intellectual mayhem of the 1960s and the New Left burned out the last strength of the old Jeffersonian and Progressive tradition (Lecture Thirty-Five) and brought to the fore a renewed and invigorated Lincolnian Neo-Conservatism, in which discussion of natural law, moral absolutes, and liberal capitalism was once again respectable (Lecture Thirty-Six).

Americans have often been a lot less practical—and a lot more idea-driven—than we appear. If we look back through American history, alongside all our can-do attitudes stands a complicated network of beliefs about human nature, politics, free will, science, and God. This course obviously includes more than just studying American philosophy. It is, instead, a course on all of American intellectual history—philosophers, yes, but also preachers, reformers, judges, composers, feminists—anyone, really, who has tried to reshape American life through ideas.

Lecture Thirteen

Whigs and Democrats

Scope: Republican political theory, whether liberal or classical, deplored political parties as factions that substituted the self-interest of the faction for the general good of the republic. Nevertheless, both Hamilton and Jefferson emerged as the heads of parties in the 1790s, and though Hamilton's Federalists were overmatched by Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans, the triumphant Jeffersonians themselves split in the 1830s over the same issues that had caused the Hamilton-Jefferson divide; from that split emerged the Whigs, led by Henry Clay.

Outline

- I. Nothing in the federal Constitution anticipated the emergence of political parties.
 - A. But the ideological division between Hamilton and his Federalists and Jefferson and his Democratic-Republicans (or simply Republicans) became too great.
 - 1. Federalist and Republican clubs and newspapers sprang up.
 - 2. Candidates began presenting themselves to the voters as Federalists or Republicans.
 - 3. In 1804, Hamilton was mortally wounded in a duel fought with Jefferson's disciple, Aaron Burr.
 - B. Federalists have generally come off the worse in American historical memory.
 - 1. Hamilton feared provincialism, small-mindedness, habit, and oligarchy.
 - 2. This won for the Federalists the approval of city merchants, urban workers, and most of New England.
 - C. Jefferson thought the Federalists had sold their souls to the British.
 - 1. He looked upon his election as a mandate to undo everything Federalist.
 - 2. But the Federalist economic policies were already set too firmly for Jefferson to dislodge.
 - 3. Jefferson's embargo triggered the first national economic collapse.
 - 4. Jefferson's successor, Madison, declared war on Britain in 1812.
 - 5. But without a national bank, there was no money to fund an army or a navy.
- II. The War of 1812 convinced the younger Jeffersonians to moderate Jeffersonianism.
 - A. Henry Clay began as a Jeffersonian.
 - 1. But he began promoting a national bank, government-sponsored "internal improvements," and protective tariffs.
 - 2. By 1824, the Jeffersonians had fractured as a party.
 - 3. In 1834, Clay called for the creation of a new political coalition, called *Whigs*.
 - B. The Whigs formed a unique political culture.
 - 1. The Whigs attracted merchants and cash-crop farmers.
 - 2. The Whigs were interested in transforming the nation by moral "improvement."
 - 3. The Whigs believed that the goals of farmers, industrial workers, merchants, and factory owners could all be reconciled into a "harmony of interests."
 - C. Andrew Jackson's Democrats saw themselves as the victims of conspiracy and became the party of suspicion.
 - 1. The Democrats saw a world rimmed by threat, from the British, from creditors, from tax collectors.
 - 2. The Democrats wanted to be left alone with their slaves and their own personal constructions of morality or religion.
 - 3. They were Romantics by nature.

Essential Reading:

D. W. Howe, *Political Culture of the American Whigs*, chapters 1–2.

Supplementary Reading:

D. W. Howe, *Making the American Self*, chapters 2, 4.

R. V. Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union*, chapter 13.

Questions to Consider:

1. What role did Henry Clay play in the creation of the Whig party?
2. What linked Whig public policy with Whig political culture?

Lecture Fourteen

American Romanticism

Scope: The Enlightenment's glorification of reason, which had seemed so exciting in the 1600s and 1700s, began to seem pale and colorless by the mid-1700s, and it fostered a backlash in the form of Romanticism. Much as the American Republic was the offspring of Enlightenment political theory, the influence of religious revivalism and the distaste of Brahmin intellectuals for democratic politics combined to breed an American Romanticism, with New England Transcendentalism as its most talented manifestation.

Outline

- I. By 1815, the Enlightenment seemed to have come to a dead end.
 - A. The French Revolution and Bonaparte disillusioned many.
 - 1. Edmund Burke criticized founding politics purely on human reason.
 - 2. Joseph de Maistre attacked the idea of universal human rights.
 - B. Burke also rejected the Enlightenment's entire epistemological project.
 - 1. What art should strive to capture was the sublime.
 - 2. This attack on Enlightenment reason became known as *Romanticism*.
 - C. The Romantics saw the same problem with reason that the Scottish common sense philosophers had seen in Locke and Hume.
 - 1. Immanuel Kant believed minds contain certain in-built categories.
 - 2. At best, descriptions of external reality were purely *phenomenal*.
 - 3. But in the *noumenal*, an understanding of the thing-in-itself existed.
 - 4. Reason could never become *transcendent*; but it could become *transcendental*.
- II. European Romantics turned the full force of their scorn on America.
 - A. The American Republic was successful but shallow.
 - 1. Americans had no real national identity.
 - 2. Americans were united solely by the hope of materialistic gain.
 - B. Some Americans agreed with this assessment.
 - 1. Jefferson was constantly pulled in Romantic directions.
 - 2. Edwards appealed to the "religious affections" as a sufficiently valid justification for Protestant Calvinism.
 - C. The first serious American Romantic philosopher was James Marsh.
 - 1. Marsh was appointed president of the University of Vermont in 1826.
 - 2. In 1829, Marsh published an edition of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*.
 - D. The most important American Romantic, however, was Ralph Waldo Emerson.
 - 1. Emerson appealed for a division of epistemology into "natural philosophy" and "transcendental philosophy."
 - 2. Emerson moved to Concord, Massachusetts.
 - E. His most important philosophical work was *Nature* (1836), in which he proposed three goals.
 - 1. Emerson advocated the complete complementarity of humanity and nature.
 - 2. This goal was achieved through the displacement of reason.
 - 3. His final goal was the naturalization of religion.
 - 4. Emerson founded a philosophical club in Cambridge that earned the name *Transcendentalist*.
 - F. Few of the Transcendentalists found successful outlets for their ideas.
 - 1. Bronson Alcott tried to create an experimental school built around Transcendentalist principles in Concord.
 - 2. Feminist Margaret Fuller left for Italy to report on the Italian revolution.
 - 3. George Ripley organized a Transcendentalist commune at Brook Farm.

4. Henry David Thoreau was jailed when he refused to pay taxes for the Mexican War and later established his own one-man commune on the shore of Walden Pond.
- G. But the impact of the Transcendentalists' criticism of empiricism and New England theology was a profound shock.
 1. Set against the Puritan confidence in the power of words, Emerson appeared dangerous, radical, and subversive.
 2. Emerson was most persuasive for those who had lost their trust in the ability of religious language to convey accuracy and truth and those who really wanted to continue believing in the old religious verities.

Essential Reading:

R. D. Richardson, *Emerson: The Mind on Fire*.

Supplementary Reading:

L. Buell, *Emerson*, chapter 1.

A. Kazin, *God and the American Writer*, chapter 2.

Questions to Consider:

1. What did Emerson mean by *Transcendentalist*?
2. What fundamental attitudes inspired the Romantics to rebel against the Enlightenment?

Lecture Fifteen

Faith and Reason at Princeton

Scope: The challenge offered to religion by Enlightenment reason was never as stark and uncompromising as it seemed. Many Enlightenment figures continued to experiment in various forms of religion, and many religious thinkers embraced and assimilated the principles of reason into new and more persuasive forms of religion. The Princeton Theology, based at Princeton Theological Seminary and pioneered by Archibald Alexander and Charles Hodge, offered a particularly significant example for 19th-century Americans of how America's Enlightenment and religious souls could be combined, instead of pitted against each other.

Outline

- I. Theology remained the principal focus of American intellectual energy before the Civil War.
 - A. This did not mean that the colleges were merely theological seminaries.
 - 1. The collegiate curriculums were organized around the classics.
 - 2. They were intended to give formation to a class of gentleman professionals.
 - 3. But from the 1730s onwards, aspiring Americans sought specialized graduate education, particularly in medicine and law.
 - 4. By 1808, graduate theological schools outnumbered both medical and legal schools.
 - B. The preeminent seminary was the Presbyterian seminary organized at Princeton in 1812.
 - 1. It had the largest student body by 1846.
 - 2. It enjoyed the teaching of Archibald Alexander and Charles Hodge.
 - C. The critical figure was Archibald Alexander.
 - 1. He was named the first professor at Princeton Theological Seminary when he was 39 years old.
 - 2. Alexander occupied a middle ground between the revivalists and the Enlightenment.
 - 3. This middle ground was based on wedding the Scottish philosophy to evangelical earnestness.
 - 4. Alexander had been heavily schooled in Witherspoon.
 - 5. His key concepts were continuity, morality, and the priority of the intellect over the will.
 - 6. On these grounds, Alexander taught the literal truth of the Bible.
 - D. Charles Hodge had far more training in languages and exegesis than Alexander.
 - 1. He gave the idea of divine inspiration of the Bible its most sophisticated shape.
 - 2. Reading the Bible required the use of *induction* rather than *deduction*.
 - 3. Hodge's 1857 article on "Inspiration" described the Bible as a living partnership between God and the Bible's human writers.
- II. Hodge and the Princeton Theology were miles apart from the Romantics.
 - A. Hodge was very much a man of the Enlightenment.
 - 1. He was a Whig who detested Democratic Romanticism.
 - 2. He had scant patience with Emerson and Edwards Amasa Park, the last of the New England Edwardseans.
 - B. Yet Hodge was a man of deep and intense personal piety.
 - 1. Crippled by rheumatoid arthritis, he was sympathetic to human suffering.
 - 2. Hodge's guiding star was the reconciliation of faith and reason.

Essential Reading:

M. A. Noll, *The Princeton Theology*, chapters 6–17.

Supplementary Reading:

L. A. Loetscher, *Facing the Enlightenment and Pietism*, chapter 14.

J. W. Stewart and J. H. Moorhead, eds., *Charles Hodge Revisited*, chapters 2–3.

Questions to Consider:

1. What did Hodge mean when he spoke of “biblical inspiration”?
2. How did Alexander apply the teachings of Witherspoon and the Scottish Enlightenment to Christian theology?

Lecture Sixteen

Romanticism in Mercersburg

Scope: American Romanticism often took the form of a rebellion against past authority. Some conservative forms of Romanticism, however, embraced the past and glorified tradition and history as a different way of questioning the supremacy of reason. Like the Transcendentalists, conservative Romantics found their philosophical underpinnings in European philosophers. Much as they praised tradition, however, they also subverted its authority and pitched American religion further into skepticism toward traditional Christian dogmatism.

Outline

- I. Unlike Emerson, some Romantics found the real problem in modern Christianity to be in the *modern* part.
 - A. One example was the political Romantics.
 1. De Maistre thought the political past captured an organic historical truth.
 2. Nations overthrow their historical institutions—their churches and their kings—at their own peril.
 - B. Another example was in the historical philosophy of Hegel.
 1. Hegel doubted whether anybody ever achieved complete breaks with the past.
 2. Old ideas were not replaced by something entirely new.
 3. Instead, old and new swung back and forth in struggle and debate—*thesis*, *antithesis*, and *synthesis*.
 4. Whatever was new still incorporated a good deal of the old.
 - C. A third model was in the religious Romanticism of René de Chateaubriand.
 1. Chateaubriand's worship of the past was aesthetic rather than philosophical.
 2. *The Beauty of Christianity* encouraged skeptics to come back to the church because its aesthetics were *sublime*.
 3. Chateaubriand captured the novelists, the poets, the playwrights, and the composers.
- II. The great outpost of Romantic conservatism was the German Reformed theological seminary in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania.
 - A. The German Reformed Church held aloof from the Great Awakening.
 1. Eager to preserve their ancestral creed, called the Heidelberg Catechism, the heads of the church founded a theological seminary.
 2. They hired Freidrich Augustus Rauch as its president.
 - B. To assist Rauch, they recruited an American Presbyterian, John Williamson Nevin.
 1. Nevin grew up under the spell of Edwardsean revivalism.
 2. But he had turned his back on the Edwardseans after reading Marsh's edition of Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*.
 - C. Nevin's first work on behalf of Romantic Christianity was a short pamphlet, "The Anxious Bench."
 1. It criticized the notion that Christian faith was a matter of Edwards's logical abstractions.
 2. To Nevin, the church was a holy and mystical body.
 - D. Nevin followed this work with *The Mystical Presence*.
 1. Nevin charged that the German Reformed Church had drifted away from seeing the Communion as central to the life of the church.
 2. Nevin was contemptuous of making Christianity out of theological propositions or biblical analysis.
 3. What mattered most to Nevin was not the church's doctrine but its experience of worship through its liturgy.
 4. In 1851, Nevin considered whether he needed to convert to Roman Catholicism.
- III. Nevin was by no means alone in feeling the lure of Romantic Christianity.
 - A. The Episcopal Church was founded out of the ruins of the colonial Church of England.
 1. Its leader, William White of Philadelphia, was another example of Philadelphia religious rationalism.

2. Others were half-way-to-revivalists on the order of Alexander Viets Griswold, who was cut from the same cloth as the Edwardseans.
3. But in 1833, the Church of England was rocked by the Oxford Movement.
 - a. Like the Romantics, the members of the Oxford Movement based their revolt on history, intuition, and aesthetics.
 - b. Younger Episcopal clergy greeted the Oxford Movement as a way of asserting the authority of the apostles.
- B. Other Romantic conservatives had little association with religion.
 1. Reviews of Hegel popped up occasionally in American periodicals.
 2. In St. Louis in 1866, William Torrey Harris founded the Hegelian *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*.
 3. But the bridge by which Romanticism crossed to America was still an overwhelmingly religious one.

Essential Reading:

W. H. Hart, *John Williamson Nevin*, chapters 2–3.

Supplementary Reading:

D. G. Conser, *Church and Confession*, chapter 7.

C. Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2, chapter 9.

Questions to Consider:

1. How was Mercersburg's critique of the Enlightenment different from Princeton's?
2. In what ways did Nevin object to the legacy of Edwards?

Lecture Seventeen

Slaveholders and Abolitionists

Scope: The use of slave labor was the one blot on the record of American liberty, and it was made more disgraceful by the way it was allied to racial stigma and the way it defined slaves as chattel property. Slave-owning pandered to white racial demagoguery, and it acquired both political clout and ideological apologists. Most embarrassing of all, it was attacked, not on the basis of Enlightenment reason, but by the most radical religious Romantics.

Outline

- I. The 19th century was the great age of emancipations.
 - A. The Enlightenment could find no justification for marginalizing one group of people on the basis of nonessential characteristics.
 - 1. Prussia naturalized Jews as citizens.
 - 2. Russia emancipated its serfs.
 - 3. Great Britain lifted civil restrictions on Roman Catholics.
 - B. But in the United States, slavery persisted.
 - 1. About 11.5 million blacks were ripped away from their native continent.
 - 2. Half went to the French, English, and Spanish islands of the West Indies.
 - 3. A little more than 10 percent of these people were sent to North America.
 - 4. Cotton-growing gave slave labor a new lease on life in the Southern states.
- II. What made slavery in the 19th century more unusual was *race*.
 - A. Africans whom the European explorers met seemed racially alien.
 - 1. It was easy to assume that Africans were also “brutish.”
 - 2. The idea of a slave was routinely associated with dark skin.
 - B. The law codes of the American South defined slaves as *chattel*.
 - 1. A slave might marry but only with the master’s permission.
 - 2. The marriage itself would not be recognized in law.
 - 3. The slave-owner’s power included the free application of violence.
 - C. Slave-owning became the common platform on which all Southern whites could stand together.
 - 1. James Henry Hammond argued that every society required a “mud-sill” class.
 - 2. George Fitzhugh, the most radical of slavery’s defenders, declared that free labor was in a worse condition than slave labor.
 - D. Few Northern states attempted to do anything about slavery.
 - 1. Not until 1827 did New York abolish slavery.
 - 2. In 1819, Missouri entered the Union as a slave state.
- III. Nothing seemed more unlikely than an emancipation movement in the North in the 1830s.
 - A. The gadfly of the new abolitionism was William Lloyd Garrison.
 - 1. Garrison was inspired by New England’s regional resentment of Southern interests in Washington.
 - 2. He was also moved by Baptist evangelicalism.
 - B. A more remarkable influence on Garrison came from the Romantics.
 - 1. The politics of the revolutionary generation were governed by prudence.
 - 2. For Kant, it is not prudence but the act of commitment that is the badge of genuine freedom.
 - 3. Garrison’s newspaper, *The Liberator*, spoke in the tones of a Romantic revivalist.
 - C. Garrisonian abolitionism split and resplit along the lines of faction, rumor, gender, and ill will.
 - 1. Women’s role in abolition organizations split antislavery societies.
 - 2. Garrison’s antipolitical stance threatened to split the abolition movement.
 - D. But several common assumptions remained.
 - 1. One was that the cause was a religious one.

2. Another was that the abolitionists reflected the passion of the Romantics.
- E. In retrospect, the abolitionists cut a far less admirable figure than they hoped.
 1. Numbers of them were also anti-Catholic bigots.
 2. Others, like Garrison, had no sympathy with the working class.
 3. Others manifested a kind of social anxiety.

Essential Reading:

H. Mayer, *All on Fire*, chapters 1, 11–15.

Supplementary Reading:

R. H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, chapter 1.

J. Stauffer, *The Black Hearts of Men*, chapter 1.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the influences that converged in William Lloyd Garrison?
2. What made the slavery of blacks in the American Republic different from earlier forms of slavery?

Lecture Eighteen

Lincoln and Liberal Democracy

Scope: Abraham Lincoln was America's last great Enlightenment politician. Although he was a lawyer and politician, he possessed important intellectual curiosities and habits and had allied his political shrewdness to Whig political ideology. It was on that basis that he developed a profound hostility to the expansion of slavery. His election as president finally delivered the nation's political initiative into the hands of an opponent of slavery, but it was the Civil War that gave him the opportunity both to destroy slavery and to install the Whig economic and political agenda as the reigning American ideology.

Outline

- I. Abraham Lincoln was neither a philosopher nor an intellectual.
 - A. But he had precocious intellectual gifts.
 - 1. He went into business in New Salem, Illinois, at age 21.
 - 2. He was licensed as a practicing attorney in 1837.
 - 3. He embraced the Whigs as his party.
 - 4. He had a reputation for "infidelity" because, unlike his radical Calvinist parents, his heroes were the free thinkers of the Enlightenment.
 - B. His most constant intellectual interest was in free will.
 - 1. Lincoln believed that "there was no freedom of the will."
 - 2. This belief was the real spring of Lincoln's charity.
- II. Lincoln's career as a trial lawyer was in civil law.
 - A. He was involved in the development of American *capitalism*.
 - 1. Capitalism can be defined by its labor system.
 - 2. It can also be defined by markets.
 - 3. It depends on a relationship between the economy and government.
 - 4. Capitalism is also an attitude built out of intelligence, risk-taking, and entrepreneurship.
 - B. Lincoln's embrace of liberal capitalism was similar to Hamilton's liberal republicanism.
 - 1. Lincoln's beliefs were reinforced by his reading of John Stuart Mill and Francis Wayland.
 - 2. His notion of equality meant equal access to self-improvement.
- III. Slavery presented Lincoln with a contradiction of liberal capitalism.
 - A. But Lincoln was restrained by his regard for the Constitution.
 - 1. Slavery was not a federal matter.
 - 2. He was horrified by the abolitionists' disregard for the Constitution.
 - B. That did not mean that there was nothing that could be done at all.
 - 1. Congress could forbid the expansion of slavery into any of the territories.
 - 2. It could offer federally funded buyouts.
- IV. The proof of the real political punch of Lincoln's strategy was the formation of the Confederacy.
 - A. What followed was the Civil War.
 - 1. The war was costly in lives and materials.
 - 2. But it provided Lincoln with the legal justification to emancipate the slaves.
 - B. None of these events conformed to any pattern of liberal progress Lincoln had known.
 - 1. They drove him to look for explanations in theology.
 - 2. His second inaugural address speculated on God's hidden purposes in bringing the war upon the country.
 - 3. What began as a struggle to secure liberal democracy had become an intellectual and theological mystery.

Essential Reading:

G. S. Boritt, *Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream*, chapters 1–2, 8, 12–15.

Supplementary Reading:

M. Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, chapter 2.

O. Fraysse, *Lincoln, Land, and Labor*, chapters 4–5.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did Lincoln's strategy for dealing with slavery differ from that of the abolitionists?
2. What aspects of a capitalist economy were the most attractive ones for Lincoln?

Lecture Nineteen

The Failure of the Genteel Elite

Scope: The Civil War cast a terrible pall over the nation's self-confidence. Despite the preservation of the Union, the shocking experience of combat and the reign of corruption that followed in the war's wake disenchanted many American thinkers with religious orthodoxy and democratic society. The postwar decades became the "Gilded Age," dominated by corporate models of organization and the cackle of cynical social critics.

Outline

- I. The Civil War was responsible for several major changes in national life.
 - A. The first changes were political.
 - 1. The defeat of the Confederacy prevented the disintegration of the American Union.
 - 2. Not only was self-government possible, but majority rule was the best means for it.
 - B. The next changes were social ones.
 - 1. The most important was the abolition of slavery.
 - 2. Lincoln also pushed through Congress Henry Clay's "American System."
 - C. But these changes came at a staggering price.
 - 1. Of a total of 3.5 million soldiers, roughly 640,000 died.
 - 2. Emancipation erased \$2.4 billion in assets represented by the South's slaves.
 - 3. The national debt soared from \$65 million to \$2.7 billion.
- II. The sheer volume of these changes unhinged something in the national mind.
 - A. Religious confidence was especially traumatized.
 - 1. The randomness of death wrecked peacetime faith in God.
 - 2. Never again would evangelical Christianity so dominate public life.
 - B. The balance of power in political ideology was changed.
 - 1. The war raised Lincoln Republicans to an ascendancy they enjoyed until 1932.
 - 2. The obstacles in the path of banking, corporations, and manufacturing collapsed.
 - a. Before the war, only 7 percent of American manufacturing was organized in corporations.
 - b. The task of meeting the war's needs spurred the corporate reorganization of American business.
 - c. By 1900, corporations accounted for 69 percent of all American business.
 - C. The American generation that inherited this postwar landscape despised itself.
 - 1. The period was tagged as the "Gilded Age."
 - 2. Henry Adams, grandson of John Quincy Adams, was enraged at the betrayal by government of the public trust.
 - 3. Adams chose to glorify the Southern grandees.
 - D. Southerners coped with defeat by inventing the story of the Lost Cause.
 - 1. According to the Lost Cause, the Confederacy was about the defense of authentic culture and resistance to Yankee industrialization; it had nothing to do with slavery.
 - 2. The Lost Cause appealed to self-critical Northerners to whom the Gilded Age had given second thoughts about the Whig ideal of individual self-improvement.
- III. The most obvious place where this notion of community ought to have emerged was in the colleges.
 - A. But the postwar colleges were secularized research institutions whose driving purpose was to provide human capital to American industry.
 - B. The money that made them possible came from the corporate kings.
 - C. The model for these institutions was the German university.
 - 1. The German principles were *lernfreiheit* (the freedom of students to devise their own programs) and *lehrfreiheit* (the freedom of a professor to pursue his subject without political consequences).
 - 2. Between 1848 and 1870, 35 colleges established scientific departments.

3. In 1869, Harvard University President Charles William Eliot introduced an “elective system.”
- D. The new universities had to adapt to a new society.
 1. These institutions promoted a growing indifference to religion.
 2. Corporations looked to universities to supply employees trained in management, finance, law, advertising, and engineering.

Essential Reading:

C. Smith, *The Secular Revolution*, introduction.

Supplementary Reading:

J. Turner, *Without God, Without Creed*, chapter 5.

E. Samuels, *Henry Adams*, chapters 5–6.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the new postwar colleges and universities serve the interests of the corporations?
2. What people in the Gilded Age did Henry Adams love and loathe, and why?

Lecture Twenty

Darwin in America

Scope: The impact of Darwin's *Origin of Species* was delayed in America by the Civil War. But in the postwar decades, Darwin knocked out the last props that supported a public or social role for religion and produced social philosophies that lauded unrestrained competition and the survival of the economically richest.

Outline

- I. Enlightenment thought steadily shrank the territory to be explained by the work of God.
 - A. The one piece that remained securely in God's hands was the beginning; the Enlightenment still required God to explain how things got started in the first place.
 - 1. Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* saw nothing in nature but struggle.
 - 2. Thomas Malthus's *Essay on the Principle of Population* explained life in a bleak struggle for survival.
 - 3. Herbert Spencer, a one-time railroad engineer who had become interested in the ancient fossil species that his rail excavations turned up, coined the phrase *survival of the fittest*.
 - B. In 1838, Darwin formulated the final link in evolutionary theory, the idea of *natural selection*.
 - 1. Organisms acquire some variation that gives them an edge in the struggle.
 - 2. This variation allows the individual to survive and reproduce.
 - 3. The accumulation of modifications explained the origin of species—not creation.
 - 4. This theory transformed biology into a neat organic system with no divine intervention.
- II. The turmoil of the Civil War blunted the American reception of the *Origin of Species* until after 1865.
 - A. Some were appalled at the *Origin of Species*.
 - 1. Charles Hodge charged that it was simply atheism.
 - 2. Louis Agassiz, a Swiss-born zoologist, believed that Darwin had violated the rules of induction.
 - 3. Harvard botanist Asa Gray was puzzled about how the small changes conveyed any real advantages.
 - B. But Darwin also acquired important converts.
 - 1. Harvard graduate Chauncey Wright converted to natural selection almost at once.
 - 2. Henry Adams thought it described the randomness he had seen during the war.
 - C. A more popular way of interpreting natural selection was Social Darwinism.
 - 1. Social Darwinism actually predated the *Origin of Species*.
 - 2. Its formulator was Herbert Spencer.
 - 3. Whereas Puritans and Whigs had once been able to tell Americans to improve themselves for the glory of God, Social Darwinism allowed them to pursue self-improvement for the good of the species.
 - 4. Gilded-Age business tycoons used it as a justification for acquiring Gilded-Age fortunes.
 - 5. William Graham Sumner of Yale turned to Social Darwinism as the key to restoring true equality to American life.
 - a. Sumner believed that the government had to deal only with defending the property of men and the honor of women against crime.
 - b. The moment it attempted to do more than that, it created unnatural imbalances that gave opportunity for corruption and favor-granting.
 - c. Sumner saw himself as the champion of the productive and deserving middle class, which is pillaged by the government.

Essential Reading:

E. H. Madden, *Chauncey Wright*.

Supplementary Reading:

R. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, chapters 1–3.

T. J. Schlereth, *Victorian America*, chapter 2.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did natural selection complete the strategy of eliminating God as a cause in the universe?
2. Was Sumner's version of Social Darwinism a legitimate extension of natural selection?

Lecture Twenty-One

Liberalism and the Social Gospel

Scope: Evolution simultaneously removed the single greatest restraint on the triumph of science and posed a revolting moral problem to thinkers who embraced a Darwinian account of human origins but shrank from applying the logic of natural selection to human society. The result was a struggle to accommodate some new form of religion to Darwinism, and this flowered in religious liberalism and the Social Gospel.

Outline

- I. Darwin and the Civil War posed challenges to religious belief.
 - A. One option was *theological liberalism*.
 - 1. Theological liberalism was no kin to the political uses of the term.
 - 2. It was more of an attitude than a working reconciliation of Darwin and theology.
 - B. In New England, its most famous voice was Horace Bushnell.
 - 1. Bushnell's *God in Christ* denied that theological language contained literal facts.
 - 2. In addition to Bushnell, the most popular voices of this "new theology" were Henry Ward Beecher, David Swing, and Phillips Brooks.
 - 3. Its most famous academics were Charles Augustus Briggs and Newman Smyth. Briggs, in particular, had a taste for controversy and pushed liberal theology into the headlines. In 1893, he was suspended from the Presbyterian ministry.
 - 4. In 1924, 150 dissident Presbyterian clergy published the Auburn Affirmation, which resurrected many of Briggs's teachings.
- II. A more practical alternative to liberalism was the *Social Gospel*.
 - A. The Social Gospel shared with Bushnell the need to rebuild American society as an organic community.
 - 1. Bushnell had hoped that the Civil War would teach Americans the need for social solidarity.
 - 2. But it was precisely the individualism Bushnell deplored that turned itself loose during the Gilded Age.
 - 3. The irony of the Social Gospel is that so many of the movement's figures had been forced away from orthodoxy by Darwin, only to take up arms against Darwin when natural selection took the form of Gilded-Age capitalism.
 - B. The principal figure in the Social Gospel was Walter Rauschenbusch.
 - 1. In 1886, Rauschenbusch was ordained pastor of a German Baptist congregation in New York City, next to what was known as Hell's Kitchen.
 - 2. He agonized over the ugly realities of working-class life in the tenements.
 - 3. "The Kingdom of God" became Rauschenbusch's primary theological slogan, which meant for him the transformation of the social order into a cooperative spiritual society.
 - 4. Rauschenbusch believed that the new social sciences would allow people to devise solutions.
 - 5. He wrote the most important manifestoes of the Social Gospel, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), *Christianizing the Social Order* (1912), and *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1918).
 - C. Rauschenbusch had hoped that the Social Gospel would reconcile liberals and conservatives.
 - 1. Instead, it convinced conservatives to withdraw from any form of social activism for fear of being tainted by liberal theology.
 - 2. The orthodox, instead, withdrew from the major denominations to found small fundamentalist splinter groups of their own.

Essential Reading:

C. H. Evans, *The Kingdom Is Always but Coming*, chapters 4–11.

Supplementary Reading:

P. A. Carter, *The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age*, chapter 3.

R. B. Mullin, *The Puritan as Yankee*, chapters 6–8.

Questions to Consider:

1. What did Rauschenbusch mean by “the Kingdom of God”?
2. Why were Bushnell’s ideas on language and community as much a threat to orthodoxy as Darwin?

Lecture Twenty-Two

The Agony of William James

Scope: No family in America followed an intellectual path as tortured as that of William James's, and his own life was a gentle but persistent struggle to reconcile the austere demands of Darwin, materialism, and science on the one hand and the attractions of religion on the other. The combined impact of Darwin and the disillusion of post-Civil War America wrenched stability and predictability out of his hands (something reflected in the way James reconceived the operations of human psychology), and it was only in pragmatism that James found room for hope and peace of mind.

Outline

- I. William James was torn between science and the consolations of belief.
 - A. James possessed one of the more peculiar family heritages in America.
 - 1. His father, Henry James, Sr., was raised on the importance of religion and the importance of money.
 - 2. One of his younger brothers, Henry James, Jr., became one of the most successful novelists of the 19th century.
 - 3. His sister, Alice James, remained a neurotic cripple all her life.
 - 4. His other younger brothers, Garth and Robertson, both volunteered for service in the Civil War, with Garth dying in 1883 of the effects of his war wounds and Robertson lapsing into alcoholism and dying in 1910.
 - B. James suffered from uncertainty of purpose.
 - 1. He entered the Lawrence Scientific School to study chemistry.
 - 2. In 1864, he entered Harvard's medical school.
 - 3. A year later, he sailed with Louis Agassiz on a scientific expedition to Brazil.
 - 4. He collapsed into a breakdown but experienced a psychological rebirth.
 - 5. In the early 1870s, he turned his attention to the study of psychology.
- II. No subject called "psychology" existed in the first half of the 19th century in America.
 - A. The concept was understood to belong to the theologians and philosophers.
 - 1. They attempted to sort out the human mind in terms of its various faculties: will, judgment, intellect, and so forth.
 - 2. Its method was introspection.
 - B. By the 1840s, the German universities were redefining psychology.
 - 1. It was no longer a spiritual or philosophical exploration.
 - 2. Instead, it was a function of material and physical responses to stimulation.
 - C. This redefinition was reinforced by the critics of the Scottish common sense philosophy.
 - 1. Alexander Bain and John Stuart Mill wanted to recast the mind as a mechanical association of ideas with things.
 - 2. Darwin gave psychology an additional push toward becoming a physical science.
- III. In 1875, James established the first primitive psychological laboratory at Harvard.
 - A. James's *Principles of Psychology* became the first American textbook on psychology.
 - 1. James argued that thought functioned more like a stream than as faculties.
 - 2. He believed that the mind was an organ, evolved for a use, which was to ensure survival.
 - B. James began gravitating toward the philosophy department at Harvard.
 - 1. He began arguing against the scientific attitude.
 - 2. He felt that one could create options beyond an all-or-nothing scenario.
 - 3. In an incomplete universe, nothing is yet finalized, and truth depends on what the situation is at the moment.
 - 4. People have a right to believe what they want, not an obligation to believe what the evidence seems to dictate.

IV. James invented neither the term nor the concept that became known as *pragmatism*.

- A.** The term came from Kant; the concept grew out of a philosophical club James had attended in Cambridge.
 - 1. James credited Charles Sanders Peirce with authoring the idea of pragmatism.
 - 2. Peirce published the first outline of pragmatism in “How to Make Our Ideas Clear.”
 - 3. In this work, Peirce abandoned epistemology and turned to asking what practical bearings any particular philosophical belief might have.
- B.** It was James who codified this perspective in *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*.
 - 1. A belief could be justified by whether it had “cash value”—that is, by whether it could be converted into useful, practical conduct.
 - 2. If one’s temperament was best satisfied by way of believing, then achieving that satisfaction was justification enough.
 - 3. James’s was an application of Peirce’s pragmatism to personal, subjective dilemmas, contrary to Peirce’s belief that pragmatism was a description of what was happening in the universe.

Essential Reading:

G. E. Myers, *William James*, chapter 14.

Supplementary Reading:

C. Brent, *Charles Sanders Peirce*, chapter 2.

R. W. B. Lewis, *The Jameses*, chapters 1–2, 5–6, 16.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. How did James redirect Peirce’s original concept of pragmatism?
- 2. What did James mean when he insisted that people had a “right to believe”?

Lecture Twenty-Three

Josiah Royce—The Idealist Dissenter

Scope: William James's pragmatism suited the temperament of a postwar generation that had lost its faith in absolutes. But if pragmatism suited James as a replacement for absolutes, it left Josiah Royce unsatisfied. Royce represents both the last serious effort by an American philosopher to build a workable notion of idealism and the last American philosopher who commanded an important public audience for philosophy.

Outline

- I. William James considered pragmatism as “radical empiricism.”
 - A. James objected when people imagined that “thoughts” and “things” were two different sorts of objects.
 - 1. James believed that “pure experience” was the only material in the world.
 - 2. James had no time for idealist thinkers who thought reality was somewhere outside themselves.
 - B. This viewpoint often gave James's pragmatism an overtone of disillusionment and contempt.
 - 1. It seemed to leave people to negotiate the perils of existence without any tools except experience.
 - 2. It seemed to allow unfettered individualism to crush the soul of American community.
- II. The task of fashioning a pragmatic idealism fell to Josiah Royce.
 - A. Unlike James, disadvantage seemed to dog Royce at every step of his path.
 - 1. His parents were Forty-Niners.
 - 2. He graduated from the new University of California, scraping by financially on scholarships.
 - 3. He continued his studies in Germany, where he fell under the spell of Immanuel Kant.
 - B. For Royce, Kant pointed toward how one might fill the vacuum left by evolution's dethronement of God.
 - 1. Kant insisted that minds were not merely the passive recipients of sensations.
 - 2. There were vital organizing categories, such as time and space, hardwired into the consciousness.
 - 3. If minds create knowledge, then the principle of mind itself triumphs over the vast, messy array of material substances awash in the world.
 - 4. The material substance of the world must be ruled over by an Absolute Mind, a notion that gave Royce a welcome sense of religious awe.
 - C. Royce encountered James at Johns Hopkins.
 - 1. They made an odd-looking pair of friends, the delicate, refined James and the homely, inelegant Royce.
 - 2. James prevailed on Harvard President Charles William Eliot to hire Royce.
 - 3. James gave Royce's idealism a pragmatic twist by asking not what the *source* of thought is but what *purpose* thought serves.
 - 4. Royce added that what the mind contributes to these ideas is organization.
 - D. Unlike James, Royce was concerned not only with how knowledge makes us act but also with whether that knowledge is *true*.
 - 1. James considered the truthfulness of an idea an irrelevant abstraction.
 - 2. Royce observed that when an idea is not true, we do not call it an idea but an *error*.
 - 3. If an idea is erroneous, then it is inescapable that an idea can also be true.
 - 4. We make judgments about truth and error because they can be compared to an *Absolute*.
 - E. Royce's Absolute pointed away from James's skepticism and individualism.
 - 1. For Royce, there is an Absolute, and our task is to find that Absolute.
 - 2. When we do so, the result will be not individualism but harmony.
- III. Royce labored to work out the implications of *Absolute pragmatism*.
 - A. His greatest concern was the relationship of minds to other minds.
 - 1. Royce's path to social harmony lay through loyalty.
 - 2. When someone is loyal to a cause, he or she is united to more than personal interests.
 - 3. We should choose for our cause whatever promotes loyalty in others.

- B. The ultimate goal is the creation of the “Beloved Community.”
 - 1. The church was the final model of what harmony with the Absolute should look like.
 - 2. Loyalty to the Absolute was the only hope of creating the Beloved Community.
- C. William James was alternately impressed, puzzled, and scornful of Josiah Royce.
 - 1. Royce was too much a friend to James to retaliate.
 - 2. His last years were clouded by the outbreak of the First World War.
- D. In many respects, Royce was the last important American philosopher.

Essential Reading:

B. Kuklick, *The Rise of American Philosophy*, chapters 14–16, 20.

Supplementary Reading:

M. Clark, *Worldly Theologians*, chapter 3.

B. Kuklick, *Josiah Royce*, chapters 2, 11.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. How did Royce rewrite pragmatism to point it toward the creation of the Beloved Community?
- 2. Why has Royce always seemed to live in the shadow of William James’s reputation?

Lecture Twenty-Four

John Dewey and Social Pragmatism

Scope: John Dewey shared William James's skepticism about absolutes, although his skepticism was born, not out of the Civil War but out of the furious postwar battles of capital and labor in Gilded-Age America. Dewey translated James's pragmatism, which served for James as a personal philosophical therapy for modern anxiety, into an optimistic but morally relativistic social policy in which social democracy, rather than the assuagement of personal doubt, was the ultimate pursuit.

Outline

- I. Not all pragmatists wanted to confine pragmatism to the personal.
 - A. John Dewey saw pragmatism as a social method.
 - 1. Dewey originally followed Hegel, under the influence of H. A. P. Torrey.
 - 2. His first philosophical essay was published in *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*.
 - 3. In 1882, Dewey began graduate study at Johns Hopkins University.
 - 4. He wrote his dissertation on "Kant's Psychology."
 - 5. In 1888, he was hired at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.
 - 6. In 1894, he moved to the University of Chicago.
 - B. Dewey arrived at the height of the great Pullman Railway Car strike.
 - 1. The Pullman workers had been organized by Eugene V. Debs.
 - 2. Dewey's confidence in an organic universe united by a mysterious Absolute disappeared.
 - 3. Instead, society was a shapeless collection of individuals, and the purpose of philosophy was to impose democratic order on it.
- II. Dewey's solution turned in the direction of education, particularly the public school systems.
 - A. In 1896, Dewey opened the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago.
 - 1. Dewey believed teaching was about preparing children for real life in a democracy.
 - 2. This education involved teaching useful trades and habits of tolerance and cooperative play and allowing the child to develop imagination.
 - B. Dewey made clear the philosophical connections to his experiment in schooling.
 - 1. In 1896, he published "The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology."
 - 2. The *reflex arc* was Dewey's term for the abstract way people think that knowledge takes place.
 - 3. Learning was a quick, rapid circuit, not a collection of separate mental acts.
 - 4. Knowledge was not the result of experience; instead, knowledge and experience grew up together.
 - 5. James was enthused about Dewey's application of pragmatism to education.
- III. In 1904, Dewey moved to Columbia University.
 - A. He turned his attention to applying "reconstruction" to philosophy.
 - 1. Philosophy needed to be redefined as a code word for social purpose.
 - 2. Reconstruction meant the end of religion.
 - 3. Reconstruction required the triumph of science.
 - B. This view posed two oddities for a pragmatist.
 - 1. James conceived of pragmatism as open-ended toward religion.
 - 2. As much as Dewey disdained fixed solutions to social problems, his preoccupation with democracy was itself a fixed solution.
 - C. These were not the only inconsistencies in Dewey's life.
 - 1. He preached sociability and democracy but was himself a loner.
 - 2. He never formally joined a political party but embraced American intervention into World War I.
 - 3. By the time of his death, Dewey had eclipsed James as the voice of pragmatism and had become exactly the kind of authority he taught Americans to shun.

Essential Reading:

R. B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, chapters 1, 3, 5–6.

Supplementary Reading:

A. Feffer, *The Chicago Pragmatists and American Progressivism*, chapter 7.

L. Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, chapters 10, 12–13, 15.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the principal points of difference between James and Dewey?
2. What did Dewey mean by *reconstruction* in philosophy?

Timeline

1636	Harvard College is founded.
1687	William Brattle writes <i>A Compendium of Logick, According to Modern Philosophy</i> to introduce the Cartesian method to Harvard.
1690	John Locke's <i>Essay Concerning Human Understanding</i> is published.
1701	Yale College is founded.
1722	The "Great Apostacie" at Yale: The rector, Timothy Cutler, and four tutors renounce Congregationalism.
1723	Benjamin Franklin arrives in Philadelphia.
1729	Jonathan Edwards becomes pastor of the church in Northampton, Massachusetts.
1732	Franklin begins publication of <i>Poor Richard's Almanac</i> .
1734	First "awakening" in Northampton, Massachusetts.
1739–1741	The Great Awakening.
1754	King's College (Columbia) is founded, with Samuel Johnson as president; Jonathan Edwards publishes <i>Freedom of the Will</i> .
1768	John Witherspoon becomes president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton).
1776	Thomas Jefferson writes the Declaration of Independence.
1781–1782	Thomas Jefferson writes <i>Notes on the State of Virginia</i> .
1786	Virginia adopts Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom.
1787	Philadelphia Convention composes the Constitution.
1801	John Marshall is named Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.
1812	Princeton Theological Seminary is founded, with Archibald Alexander as first professor.
1829	James Marsh publishes an American edition of Coleridge's <i>Aids to Reflection</i> .
1831	William Lloyd Garrison begins publishing <i>The Liberator</i> .
1834	Henry Clay calls for creation of the Whig Party.
1835	First edition of Francis Wayland's <i>Elements of Moral Science</i> is published.
1836	Ralph Waldo Emerson publishes <i>Nature</i> .
1837	Emerson delivers "The American Scholar" address to the Phi Beta Kappa society at Harvard.
1840	John Williamson Nevin joins faculty of German Reformed seminary in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania.
1841	Brook Farm community is established.
1847	Horace Bushnell publishes <i>Christian Nurture</i> .
1859	Darwin's <i>Origin of Species</i> is published.
1860	Abraham Lincoln is elected 16 th president.
1861–1865	The American Civil War takes place.

1863.....	Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation.
1866.....	William Torrey Harris begins publishing <i>The Journal of Speculative Philosophy</i> .
1869.....	Charles William Eliot becomes president of Harvard.
1873.....	Charles Hodge publishes <i>Systematic Theology</i> in three volumes.
1876.....	Johns Hopkins University is founded as the first American graduate research institution.
1878.....	Charles Sanders Peirce publishes “How to Make Our Ideas Clear.”
1879.....	Henry George proposes “single tax” in <i>Progress and Poverty</i> .
1882.....	Josiah Royce joins the faculty of Harvard.
1886.....	Haymarket Riot; Edward Bellamy begins writing <i>Looking Backward</i> ; Henry W. Grady delivers “New South” speech; Walter Rauschenbusch is ordained pastor of German Baptist congregation in New York City.
1890.....	William James’s <i>Principles of Psychology</i> is published.
1893.....	Charles Augustus Briggs is suspended from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church.
1894.....	Strike of the Pullman workers blossoms into national railroad strike; John Dewey arrives at the University of Chicago.
1895.....	Booker T. Washington delivers “Atlanta Exposition Address.”
1896.....	Dewey opens the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago and publishes “The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology”; Franz Boas is appointed director of the American Museum of Natural History; U.S. Supreme Court legitimizes racial segregation in <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> .
1901.....	Theodore Roosevelt succeeds the assassinated William McKinley as 26 th president.
1903.....	W. E. B. Du Bois publishes <i>The Souls of Black Folk</i> .
1907.....	James delivers the Lowell Lectures on <i>Pragmatism</i> .
1908.....	Henry Ford introduces the Model T.
1909.....	Herbert Croly publishes the Progressives’ manifesto, <i>The Promise of American Life</i> .
1911.....	Frederick Winslow Taylor sums up his theories on workplace efficiency in <i>The Principles of Scientific Management</i> .
1912.....	Woodrow Wilson is elected 28 th president.
1915.....	Reinhold Niebuhr becomes pastor of church in Detroit.
1917.....	United States enters World War I.
1920.....	Sinclair Lewis publishes <i>Main Street</i> .
1925.....	The Scopes trial takes place in Dayton, Tennessee.
October 24, 1929.....	New York Stock Market crashes and the Great Depression begins.
1930.....	Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, and Robert Penn Warren publish <i>I’ll Take My Stand</i> .
1932.....	Niebuhr attacks Dewey in <i>Moral Man and Immoral Society</i> .

1934.....	Ruth Benedict publishes <i>Patterns of Culture</i> ; Elijah Muhammad assumes leadership of the Nation of Islam.
May 6, 1935.....	Harry Hopkins organizes the Works Project Administration.
1939.....	Albert Einstein writes to Franklin D. Roosevelt to apprise him of developments in physics that could make an atomic bomb possible.
1941.....	Erich Fromm publishes <i>Escape from Freedom</i> ; United States enters World War II.
1944.....	Friedrich Hayek's <i>Road to Serfdom</i> is published; Congress passes Servicemen's Readjustment Act.
1945.....	Yalta Conference; atomic bomb is dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
1948.....	B. F. Skinner publishes <i>Walden II</i> ; James Baldwin leaves the United States for France; Whittaker Chambers denounces Alger Hiss as a Soviet spy.
1953.....	Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are executed as Soviet spies.
1955.....	<i>National Review</i> is founded by William F. Buckley; Herbert Marcuse publishes <i>Eros and Civilization</i> ; Rosa Parks refuses to give up her bus seat in Montgomery, Alabama.
1956.....	Lawrence Alloway coins the term <i>pop art</i> .
1962.....	The Port Huron Statement heralds the arrival of the New Left.
1963.....	Betty Friedan publishes <i>The Feminine Mystique</i> .
1964.....	Free Speech Movement confrontation at Berkeley; Civil Rights Act is passed by Congress.
1965.....	Malcolm X is assassinated; riot consumes Watts district of Los Angeles.
April 4, 1968.....	Martin Luther King is assassinated.
May 4, 1970.....	National Guardsmen open fire on antiwar demonstrators at Kent State University.
1973.....	Vietnam War ends.
1980.....	Ronald Reagan is elected 40 th president.
1987.....	Allan Bloom's <i>The Closing of the American Mind</i> becomes a surprise bestseller.
1995.....	<i>The Weekly Standard</i> is founded as journal for Straussian Neo-Conservatives.
2000.....	George W. Bush is elected 43 rd president.

Glossary

Abolitionist: An advocate of the immediate abolition of slavery, a position best illustrated in William Lloyd Garrison.

Agrarian: Term applied to the view that land and agriculture are the only true sources of wealth and that a society based on agriculture is socially and morally superior to one based on industrial capitalism.

Analogy: A method that discovered lawlike order in human consciousness by extrapolating from observations of lawlike behavior in physical nature.

Anthropology: The study of the technological, cultural, and social patterns of human life. Pioneered by Franz Boas and popularized through the work of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead.

Behaviorism: A form of psychology that asserts that actual behavior is the only legitimate object of psychological study and that behavior modification is to be achieved through the manipulation and conditioning of responses.

Calvinism: A school of Protestant Christian theology that stresses the absolute sovereignty of God and the dependence of human will on God's prior decree.

Capitalism: A set of economic and social relations in which one class owns the means of production and another class provides the labor, with (a) profit for the first class coming from the surplus value it is able to charge over and above the wages of the laborers and (b) the profit being turned into investment in more production or capital.

“Common sense”: Concept developed by Thomas Reid and Francis Hutcheson, who argued that human moral judgments were made instinctively and uniformly or commonly.

Deism: A generalized belief in a creator who superintends human events only generally and according to natural law.

Enlightenment: An intellectual event that set aside traditional religious and philosophical authority in preference for empirical observation and criticism of conventional social and political arrangements and that advocated reliance on the adequacy of human reason for the solution of problems. Often associated with the promotion of **natural law**, **liberalism**, and **republicanism** (q.v.).

Epistemology: General philosophical term for theories about how minds know things.

Great Awakening: A large-scale religious revival, lasting from 1739–1741. Its most prominent figure was George Whitefield.

Half-Way Covenant: Adopted in 1662 by a general synod of church representatives from the Puritan churches of Massachusetts Bay, the Half-Way Covenant was a compromise position on the question of who was entitled to admission to communion and baptism in the Congregational churches of the Bay Colony. With the waning of active piety in Massachusetts society, the 1662 synod decided to permit the baptism of the children of colonists who did not qualify for full church membership but to deny them access to communion. This compromise was denounced by Jonathan Edwards, who wished to return to the more demanding piety of the full-membership requirements in the 1740s. The term was first invented in 1790 by Edwards's pupil, Joseph Bellamy.

Idealism: Philosophical doctrine that minds know only ideas and have no reliable access to objects in an external world.

Immaterialism: A form of idealism that argues that all existence and causality consist of the mind of God, the finite minds he has created, and the ideas God imparts to them.

Irony: An attitude of observation that stresses the failure of human intentions to produce the results they expect; as promoted by Reinhold Niebuhr, it encouraged an attitude of realistic humility about social reform and the aspirations of American foreign policy.

Liberalism: Term originally applied to opponents of the monarchy who urged the restructuring of society by reason and civic morality rather than by inherited tradition or religious authority. *Economic* liberalism was identified in the 19th century with free trade, free markets, and social mobility, but *liberalism* was more often used in the 20th century to describe a cultural position of permissiveness, dissent from religious orthodoxy, and moderate Left politics.

Moral philosophy: Investigation of the philosophical basis for ethical questions.

Natural law: (a) The instinctive moral precepts that reside in all human consciousness; (b) the physical laws by which the natural world can be shown to operate.

Natural selection: The key concept of Darwinian evolution, in which random mutations in living beings provide a particular advantage in the struggle for survival over other beings, causing the latter to die out and the former to multiply and, in turn, resulting in the gradual evolution of the survivors into different species.

Neo-Conservative: Term applied by Irving Kristol to members of the Old Left who rebelled against antidemocratic developments in liberal and New Left political thought.

New Deal: Program of relief measures implemented by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to deal with the economic impact of the Great Depression.

New Left: Term applied to radical critics of the 1950s and 1960s who criticized American democracy as a sham and favored substitution of students and intellectuals for the working class as the vanguard of an anticapitalist revolution.

New Light: Term applied to the supporters of the Great Awakening.

Populism: Agrarian protest movement that criticized the control of railroads and finance over western agriculture. The best-known Populist figure was William Jennings Bryan.

Pragmatism: Philosophical doctrine formulated by Charles Sanders Peirce and popularized by William James that identified truth as the principles upon which an individual was prepared to act in a given situation.

Progressives: Middle-class reform movement that sought to use professionalism to eliminate corruption in government and use government oversight to rationalize social service.

Realism: Philosophical doctrine that argues that minds have dependable sensations of the external world. *Representational* realism taught that ideas mediate the contact of the mind with external reality but nevertheless afford dependable information on objects in the external world. *Direct* realism taught that minds are directly and noninferentially aware of objects in the external world.

Recapitulation: Anthropological concept that taught that all societies follow the same pattern of development, although they may be at different stages of that development at any given time.

Reconstruction: Philosophical method recommended by John Dewey that urged the application of pragmatism to social questions, the abolition of religious considerations, and the substitution of the scientific method in determining social policy.

Republicanism: Political concept that rooted sovereignty in the people of a given polity rather than in an aristocracy or theocracy. Republics exist on a spectrum of being more or less democratic in their actual structure. *Classical* republicanism refers to republics that emphasize the public interest over private interest and was often **agrarian** (q.v.) in outlook; *liberal* republicanism refers to the promotion of private interest as the most efficient way of producing public good and was often associated with an accommodation between democracy and capitalism.

Revival: A communal renewal of religious interest and enthusiasm. The best example is the Great Awakening.

Romanticism: Cultural doctrine that opposed the Enlightenment's focus on reason at the expense of nonrational factors in human decisions, such as race or "the sublime."

Scholasticism: A method of inquiry based on logical analysis of propositions and guided by Aristotelian concepts of causality. The basic learning method of the late medieval European universities and 17th-century Protestant theologians.

Social Darwinism: Adaptation of natural selection by Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner to social criticism, in which interventions by government or charity in the economic and social survival of citizens were discouraged as a violation of the principles of evolution.

"Social Gospel": Term applied to the teachings of Walter Rauschenbusch that substituted social intervention by the church for concerns with revivalism and theological orthodoxy.

Socialism: Political and economic doctrine that argued that the means of production should be owned or managed by society as a whole so as to prevent individual accumulations of capital.

Technologia (Latin): Comprehensive scholastic systems devised to provide encyclopedia-like explanations of philosophy and theology.

Theology: The study of the nature and being of God.

Transcendentalism: Term applied to Kantian Romanticism that referred to matters that *transcended* the capacities of reason and to the method of examining the prerational suppositions that underlie and control the processes of reason.

Whig: (a) Political term that described the opposition antimonarchical party in the 18th-century English Parliament; (b) name adopted by Henry Clay for the Whig party to identify the critics of Andrew Jackson with the 18th-century parliamentary opposition to Jackson's "monarchy" as president.

Biographical Notes

Henry Adams (1838–1918). Great-grandson of John Adams (third president of the United States). Graduated from Harvard College (1858) and served as secretary to his father, Charles Francis Adams, while the latter was American minister to Great Britain during the Civil War. Joined the history department at Harvard (1870–1877). Caustic critic of the Gilded Age. Wrote *History of the United States* (1889–1891), *Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres* (1904), and *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907).

Edward Bellamy (1850–1898). Journalist and writer. Wrote the quasi-socialist utopian novel, *Looking Backward* (1887), predicting a hopeful resolution of “the social question” of labor and capitalism.

Ruth Benedict (1887–1948). Anthropologist. Graduated from Vassar College (1909) and studied anthropology under Franz Boas at Columbia University, where she earned a Ph.D. in 1923. She taught at Columbia from 1928–1948. Her 1934 book, *Patterns of Culture*, shaped the development of anthropology as a discipline.

Horace Bushnell (1802–1876). Congregational clergyman and theologian. Graduated from Yale College (1827) and was ordained pastor of North Church, Hartford, Connecticut. Published *Christian Nurture* (1847) and *God in Christ* (1849), which introduced Romantic theories of language to Protestant theology.

Eugene V. Debs (1855–1926). Socialist and labor advocate, he was president of the American Railway Union during the Pullman strike of 1894. Ran as the Socialist candidate for president in 1900–1912 and again in 1920. Jailed during World War I by the Wilson administration for advocating resistance to the draft.

John Dewey (1859–1952). Philosopher and educator. Graduated from the University of Vermont (1879) and Johns Hopkins University (Ph.D., 1888). Taught at the University of Michigan and University of Chicago, where he invented a social version of pragmatism and applied it through the founding of the Laboratory School. Moved to Columbia University in 1904 and became an advocate for pragmatic “reconstruction” of philosophy.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868–1963). Journalist, educator, and activist. Graduated from Fisk University (1888) and Harvard College (1890). Editor of *The Crisis* (1910–1934) and author of the most important articulation of black American racial consciousness, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903).

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). Congregational clergyman and theologian. Graduated from Yale College (1720) and called as pastor of the church of Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1729. Promoted “awakenings” in 1734–1735 and 1739–1741, which he described and defended in *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God* (1737). Wrote philosophical defenses of Calvinist theology in *Freedom of the Will* (1754) and *Original Sin* (1758). Briefly president of Princeton (1757–1758).

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882). Unitarian clergyman and author. Graduated from Harvard College (1822) and served as minister of the Second Church, Boston (1829–1832). Wrote *Nature* (1836) as an American Romantic declaration. Delivered “The American Scholar” (1837) as a call for an intellectual break with Europe and the Divinity School Address (at Harvard) in 1838 as a repudiation of traditional Unitarian theology.

Henry George (1839–1897). Laborer, journalist, and economist. Wrote *Progress and Poverty* (1879) to propose a “single-tax” solution for redistributing industrial wealth.

Charles Hodge (1797–1878). Presbyterian clergyman and theologian. Graduated from Princeton (1819) and became second professor (with Archibald Alexander) at Princeton Theological Seminary. His *Systematic Theology* (1873) was a landmark of conservative Protestant thought and represented the incorporation of Scottish common sense moral philosophy into American theology.

William James (1842–1910). Philosopher and psychologist. Graduated from Harvard Medical School (1868) and joined the faculty of Harvard in 1870, where he established the first psychology laboratory. His *Principles of Psychology* (1890) was a major force in overthrowing “faculty” psychology, but he was even better known for formulating a philosophy of pragmatism in his Lowell Lectures, *Pragmatism* (1908).

Martin Luther King (1929–1968). Baptist theologian and civil rights activist. Graduated from Morehouse College (1948) and Boston University (Ph.D., 1955). Became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1954 and assumed leadership of the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. Eventually became the most prominent spokesman for black civil rights in the nation.

James Marsh (1794–1842). President of the University of Vermont (1826–1833). Introduced American readers to Romantic Kantianism through his edition of S. T. Coleridge’s *Aids to Reflection* (1829).

Margaret Mead (1901–1978). Anthropologist. Graduated from Barnard College in 1923 and studied anthropology under Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict at Columbia University, where she earned a Ph.D. in 1929. Her fieldwork in the Pacific islands resulted in the most popular anthropological work of the 20th century, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928). She was a curator at the American Museum of Natural History from 1926–1969.

Henry Louis Mencken (1880–1956). Journalist and literary critic. Starting as a cub reporter, he rose to become a staff journalist and columnist for the *Baltimore Morning Herald* and the *Baltimore Sun*. Co-edited *The Smart Set* (1908–1923) and edited the *American Mercury* (1924–1933). He was best known for his caustic coverage of the Scopes “Monkey Trial.”

John Williamson Nevin (1803–1886). German Reformed theologian. Graduated from Union College (1821) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1826). Joined the faculty of the German Reformed theological seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, where he used conservative Romanticism to criticize revivalism in *The Anxious Bench* (1843) and *The Mystical Presence* (1846).

Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971). German Evangelical pastor, seminary professor, and theologian. Joined the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in 1928 and, through *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932) and *The Irony of American History* (1951), became a major critic of liberal optimism.

Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914). Mathematician and philosopher. Wrote the first statement of pragmatism in “How to Make Our Ideas Clear” in 1877. Held teaching positions only briefly at Harvard and Johns Hopkins, but his success at alienating people prevented him from ever finding a permanent position.

Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918). German Baptist pastor and theologian. His work as a pastor in New York City led to his articulation of the “Social Gospel.” From 1897, he was a professor at Rochester Theological Seminary, where he wrote *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), *Christianizing the Social Order* (1912), and *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1918).

Josiah Royce (1855–1916). Philosopher. Graduated from the University of California (1875) and Johns Hopkins University (Ph.D., 1878). Taught at the University of California, then joined the faculty of Harvard in 1882. Dissented from William James’s pragmatic empiricism and fashioned a pragmatic version of absolute idealism in *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy* (1885) and *The World and the Individual* (1900–1901).

Leo Strauss (1899–1973). Political philosopher. Born in Germany, he was briefly conscripted into the German Army (1917–1918). He earned a Ph.D. from Hamburg in 1921, studied in Paris and London, then emigrated to New York City in 1937, where he taught at the New School for Social Research (1938–1948). He moved to the University of Chicago in 1949 and became the father-figure to the Neo-Conservative movement.

Francis Wayland (1796–1865). Baptist clergyman and president of Brown University (1827–1855). Graduated from Union College (1813) and wrote the most popular textbook on moral philosophy, *Elements of Moral Science* (1835), and a major work on Whig economics, *Elements of Political Economy* (1837).

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- Francis Bowen, *A Treatise on Logic; or, The Laws of Pure Thought* (Cambridge, 1864).
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- Josiah Quincy, *The History of Harvard University*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1860).
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- The Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University. <http://edwards.yale.edu/>
- Jone Johnson Lewis. "Ralph Waldo Emerson—Texts." <http://www.emersoncentral.com/>
- University of Virginia. "Thomas Jefferson Digital Archive." <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/jefferson/>
- The Abraham Lincoln Association. <http://www.alincolnassoc.com/>
- Stanford University. "Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project." <http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/>
- "Herbert Marcuse Official Homepage." <http://www.marcuse.org/herbert/>

The American Mind

Part III

Professor Allen C. Guelzo



THE TEACHING COMPANY ®

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Dr. Guelzo is the author of numerous books on American intellectual history and on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War era, beginning with his first work, *Edwards on the Will: A Century of American Theological Debate, 1750–1850* (Wesleyan University Press, 1989). His second book, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians, 1873–1930* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), won the Outler Prize for Ecumenical Church History of the American Society of Church History. He wrote *The Crisis of the American Republic: A History of the Civil War and Reconstruction* for the St. Martin's Press *American History* series in 1995 and followed that with an edition of Josiah G. Holland's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1866) in 1998 for the "Bison Books" series of classic Lincoln biography reprints of the University of Nebraska Press. Dr. Guelzo's book *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President* (Wm. Eerdmans, 1999) won both the Lincoln Prize and the Abraham Lincoln Institute Prize in 2000. In 2003, his article, "Defending Emancipation: Abraham Lincoln and the Conkling Letter, August, 1863," won Civil War History's John T. Hubbell Prize for the best article of that year. Dr. Guelzo's most recent work, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* (Simon & Schuster, 2004), also won the Lincoln Institute Prize and the Lincoln Prize for 2005, making him the first double Lincoln Laureate in the history of both prizes. He is now at work on a new book on the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, also for Simon & Schuster.

Dr. Guelzo has written for *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *First Things*, the *Claremont Review of Books*, and *Books and Culture* and has been featured on NPR's "Weekend Edition Sunday" and Brian Lamb's "Booknotes." He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Abraham Lincoln Association, the Abraham Lincoln Institute, and the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church; a member of the advisory councils of the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission and the McNeil Center for Early American Studies (at the University of Pennsylvania); and a member of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, the Society of Civil War Historians, and the Union League of Philadelphia. Dr. Guelzo has been a fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies (1991–1992), the McNeil Center for Early American Studies (1992–1993), the Charles Warren Center for American Studies at Harvard University (1994–1995), and the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University (2002–2003). Professor Guelzo's other Teaching Company courses include *Mr. Lincoln: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* and *History of the United States, 2nd Edition*, which he team-taught with Patrick Allitt and Gary W. Gallagher.

Dr. Guelzo lives in Paoli and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, with his wife, Debra.

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The American Mind

Scope:

This Teaching Company lecture series offers a broad survey of American intellectual history. It is a history of the ideas, the thinkers, and the institutions that have mattered most to Americans as a people. The 36 lectures in this series are built around six basic themes in American thinking:

1. The fundamental struggle for importance between intellect and will—in other words, whether it is more important for us to think or to act.
2. The persistence of religious ideas as a living part of American intellectual life.
3. The formation of two souls in the American consciousness, one the product of Puritan religion and the other the product of America's embrace of the Enlightenment.
4. The struggle between liberty and power in a democratic society, as seen in the liberal capitalism of Alexander Hamilton and Abraham Lincoln, and the fierce suspicion of commercial societies seen in Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.
5. The dramatic shift in categories of American thinking that occurred in the post-Civil War decades, which turned Americans away from traditional philosophical and social thinking and toward pragmatism and secularism.
6. The dilemmas posed by the American ascent to world power through two world wars and the responsibilities that have come with it.

We'll begin in Lecture One by confronting a fundamental problem that occurs whenever we try to speak of an "American mind." Americans like to think of themselves as a practical, hands-on, results-oriented kind of people. How can we be such a hard-headed nation and still really have an *intellectual* history? Part of the answer to that question begins with Lecture Two, where we examine the Puritans, who combined a strong scholastic intellectual inheritance with a deep and uneasy piety that pitted will and intellect against each other in ways that continue to echo in our ears. We move almost at once in Lecture Three to what is supposed to be the antithesis of Puritan piety, and that is the American Enlightenment—only to find that the Enlightenment was not without its own pious unease. In fact, we'll find in Lecture Four that one of the brightest gems in the American Enlightenment was also one of its most determined Puritans, Jonathan Edwards. Lecture Five will, in the same way, use the premier intellectual institutions of early America—its colleges—to illustrate how the Enlightenment and piety struggled unevenly for advantage and sometimes for common ground.

Lectures Six through Eight explore the ways in which Enlightenment Americans turned their attention from the loftier realms of God and truth to politics and why the English Whig republicans exerted so strong a hold on the American revolutionaries. Two of those revolutionaries, Hamilton and Jefferson, joined to found a new republican government but soon discovered (as we'll see in Lectures Nine and Ten) that there could be two powerfully contradictory ways of thinking about a republic, depending on whether one drank from the fountain of *classical* republicanism or *liberal* republicanism. There might even be a third way, as Lectures Eleven and Twelve will show, if one allows religion to have its say, as indeed it did, in the very different forms of Edwardsean revivalism and collegiate moral philosophy.

Lectures Thirteen through Seventeen explore the ways in which these notions of being a republic were tried in the fire of ideological controversy—Jacksonians and Whigs, Romantics and Rationalists, slaveholders and abolitionists—all of which culminated in the explosive conflict of the American Civil War. Lecture Eighteen, focusing on Abraham Lincoln, shows us how very much the Civil War was a struggle of ideas as well as armies. In fact, it shows how very much a man of ideas could live within the skin of a professional politician.

The war assured victory to one side in the great struggle of ideas and culture. But it was an enormously costly struggle, and it left the victors unable to deal with a fresh set of challenges—disillusion with the shallowness of victory (Lecture Nineteen); the impact of Charles Darwin, which amounted to a sort of second Enlightenment (Lecture Twenty); and the scramble of American religion to define a new place for itself in industrial America (Lecture Twenty-One). A handful of thinkers—with Josiah Royce as the principal example—tried to find a new ground for stability and absolute truths, but Royce stood little chance against the cheerful philosophical pragmatism

of William James or the aggressive social pragmatism of John Dewey (Lectures Twenty-Two through Twenty-Four). Neither Dewey nor James was half so radical in the face of the new industrial society as America's turn-of-the-century socialists, Populists, and Progressives, whom we meet in Lectures Twenty-Five and Twenty-Six and who found Lincoln's liberal capitalism no solution to the dilemmas of an industrial working class.

But if they hoped for a better economic world than the one the Civil War made, they were unprepared for the disillusion imposed by World War I, which began as a Progressive crusade but quickly turned into a celebration of intellectual disgust with idealism of any sort (Lecture Twenty-Seven). Progressivist idealism, as well as liberal capitalism and religious absolutes, were dismissed by the new social scientists, who appear in Lecture Twenty-Eight, as cultural accidents rather than eternal truths. America's ongoing racial hypocrisy, which we chronicle in Lecture Twenty-Nine, now came to the surface for the first time since the Civil War as a national disgrace, and although the Great Depression and World War II gave American intellectuals a fresh opportunity to rally around the possibilities of a democratic future, Lectures Thirty through Thirty-Two show that American thinkers—especially its scientists—were ill-equipped to deal with dilemmas that turned out to be quite unscientifically religious.

The post-World War II decades were the last fling of Progressive thinking, as American intellectuals increasingly prophesied the collapse of American thinking under the sheer weight of mindless consumerism (Lecture Thirty-Three). They barely noticed that the most successful reform movement of the day, the Civil Rights Movement (Lecture Thirty-Four), turned out to be profoundly religious at its core. The intellectual mayhem of the 1960s and the New Left burned out the last strength of the old Jeffersonian and Progressive tradition (Lecture Thirty-Five) and brought to the fore a renewed and invigorated Lincolnian Neo-Conservatism, in which discussion of natural law, moral absolutes, and liberal capitalism was once again respectable (Lecture Thirty-Six).

Americans have often been a lot less practical—and a lot more idea-driven—than we appear. If we look back through American history, alongside all our can-do attitudes stands a complicated network of beliefs about human nature, politics, free will, science, and God. This course obviously includes more than just studying American philosophy. It is, instead, a course on all of American intellectual history—philosophers, yes, but also preachers, reformers, judges, composers, feminists—anyone, really, who has tried to reshape American life through ideas.

Lecture Twenty-Five

Socialism in America

Scope: The postwar wave of corporate industrial organization was met by an opposing wave of working-class resistance, and that resistance was frequently attracted by the promise of socialism. Socialism as an ideology, however, had few takers in America. Its partisans were often foreign-born and marginalized by American culture. Socialism as a practice went through many stages and was mostly fixed on negotiating for bigger pieces of the capitalist pie, rather than overthrowing a capitalist economic regime.

Outline

- I. American socialists saw socialism as a means rather than an end.
 - A. It followed three basic patterns.
 - 1. One group thought of itself simply as American idealists.
 - 2. Another was internationalist in its perspective.
 - 3. A third included those who celebrated the reality of socialism but who rejected the name.
 - B. One example of the last category was Henry George.
 - 1. George was shocked by the changes the Civil War and the Gilded Age had brought to the eastern United States.
 - 2. George offered a solution in the idea of *rent*.
 - 3. People who have land to rent or to sell at inflated prices obtain an income that they have done nothing to earn, and they create greater misery for the poor.
 - 4. George proposed a land-value tax.
 - 5. But he actively refused to be labeled a socialist.
 - C. Another example of those who did not want to be associated with socialism was Edward Bellamy.
 - 1. The Haymarket Riot in 1886 dissolved Bellamy's patience with Gilded-Age capitalism.
 - 2. In 1887, he published a futuristic novel, *Looking Backward*.
 - a. In the book, all American laborers were mobilized into a single national industrial army.
 - b. All workers were issued a national credit card, with equal shares credited to them.
 - 3. Bellamy also denied that he was a socialist.
 - 4. George and Bellamy were concerned about alleviating capitalism's evils, not replacing it.
- II. European immigration brought a more radical brand of socialism to America.
 - A. Immigrant intellectuals were contemptuous of utopianism or "single-tax" solutions.
 - 1. In 1876, German socialist émigrés founded the Workingmen's Party of the United States, but the party promptly split; American union leaders were less interested in promoting a socialist doctrine than in getting a bigger share of the capitalist pie.
 - 2. The party was reinvented as the Socialist Labor Party, led by Daniel DeLeon, who had no use for trade unions unless they were fully committed to a root-and-branch assault on capitalism.
 - 3. DeLeon helped organize a union ready to draw blood, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).
 - B. DeLeon actually composed the mainstream of American socialism.
 - 1. Johann Most was a true believer in the necessity for outright class warfare.
 - 2. Most passed his enthusiasm on to the IWW and William "Big Bill" Haywood.
- III. The greatest success in recruiting a viable socialist movement went to Eugene Victor Debs and the Socialist Party (SP) he organized in 1901.
 - A. Debs was the key figure in the great Pullman Strike.
 - 1. He could not share DeLeon's fundamentalist Marxism.
 - 2. He recruited almost 120,000 members for the SP by 1912.
 - B. Still, socialism in America never acquired much of a following.
 - 1. American workers merely wanted greater opportunities to better themselves.
 - 2. The German émigré socialists were ineffective in communicating their doctrine.
 - 3. Liberal democracy supplied all the needs that Americans had for an ideology.

4. American politics seemed to be leaning in the way of large-scale reform anyway.
5. The radical initiative would pass out of the hands of the socialists and into the hands of the communists.

Essential Reading:

J. P. Diggins, *The Rise and Fall of the American Left*, chapters 2–3.

Supplementary Reading:

D. McLellan, *Marxism after Marx*, chapter 24.

D. Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science*, chapter 4.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the émigré socialists fail so miserably in rallying American workers?
2. Were George and Bellamy practical reformers or merely utopian dreamers?

Lecture Twenty-Six

Populists, Progressives, and War

Scope: Not only urban workers but farmers in the postwar decades had grievances to register with corporate America, and in the 1880s, those grievances crystallized in the form of Populism. However, Populism was as easily marginalized as socialism. The most important reform ideology in the decades after the Civil War was a resolutely middle-class one, Progressivism, where the main concern was not about redistribution or revolution as much as it was about efficiency.

Outline

- I. After preservation of the Union, the Homestead Act of 1862 was the second most important byproduct of the Civil War, running neck in neck with emancipation.
 - A. This less understood piece of legislation provided for the wholesale liquidation of federally owned land in the West.
 - 1. Settlers occupied the Great Plains, the Dakotas, Montana, Colorado, and Idaho.
 - 2. But the Great Plains contained arid, inhospitable, and useless soil.
 - 3. Within a matter of years, many farmers were heavily mortgaged or foreclosed or bankrupted.
 - B. Those same farmers could not miss noticing how different the world was for the new corporations.
 - 1. Farmers fought back by organizing the Farmers' Alliance in the 1880s.
 - 2. They captured the Democratic Party and, in 1896, nominated William Jennings Bryan for president.
 - C. Populism looked like a perfect match for Debs's Socialists in the cities.
 - 1. But an alliance between Populists and Socialists had no real chance.
 - 2. Populism celebrated the rural past and the self-reliant farmer, not the industrial worker.
- II. Populists and the Socialists were co-opted by the Progressives.
 - A. Progressivism was the movement of the middle class, convinced that corporate capitalism had to be saved from itself.
 - 1. Progressivism came, not only from the middle class but from business.
 - 2. Progressives worshipped efficiency, and efficiency's guru was Frederick Winslow Taylor
 - 3. Progressivism's bible was Herbert Croly's *The Promise of American Life*.
 - B. The great figureheads of Progressivism were its politicians.
 - 1. Theodore Roosevelt took the same attitude toward running the federal government as to running any efficient organization.
 - 2. Roosevelt made Progressive reform both popular *and* elitist.
 - 3. This gave Progressivism a distaste for real democratic politics and life.
 - 4. The Progressives were greeted coldly by the Populists because farmers and workers wanted power to control their own lives, not gifts from governments.
 - 5. No one embodied this particular Progressive hubris more than Woodrow Wilson.
 - 6. Wilson argued that the Constitution's separation of powers was wasteful and inefficient.
 - 7. World War I gave Wilson the opportunity to exercise presidential power fully.
 - C. World War I made Progressives uneasy.
 - 1. Randolph Bourne, a pupil of John Dewey, objected that Wilson would kill democracy.
 - 2. Wilson's administration turned a blind eye to the persecution of German immigrants.
 - 3. At the end of the war, Wilson devised a formula for international peace and a League of Nations.
 - 4. Wilson's allies laughed at him, and the American people rejected the League of Nations.
 - 5. After Wilson suffered a debilitating stroke in 1919 and died in 1920, much of the energy of Progressivism died as well.

Essential Reading:

T. Fleming, *The Illusion of Victory*, chapters 1, 9–12.

Supplementary Reading:

H. W. Brands, *The Reckless Decade*, chapters 3–4.

J. P. Diggins, *The Promise of Pragmatism*, chapters 5–6.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the Progressives differ from the Populists and the Socialists?
2. How did Woodrow Wilson's policies conform to the pattern of Progressivism?

Lecture Twenty-Seven

Decade of the Disenchanted

Scope: The idealism with which Woodrow Wilson led America into World War I, and the dreary disappointments that followed in its wake, produced a deeply jaded rejection of all idealisms, moral and political. The great voices of the 1920s were the skeptics, cynics, and mockers, who debunked not only American tradition but American reform and delighted in reducing explanations of American behavior to selfishness and stupidity.

Outline

- I. World War I undermined all confidence that Europeans or Americans really possessed a civilization.
 - A. Americans recoiled from Wilsonian idealism.
 - 1. In a spasm of debunking, they rejected the war as a fraud.
 - 2. They turned their guns on every moving idealism in American life.
 - B. The prince of the debunkers was Sinclair Lewis.
 - 1. Lewis was a mocker.
 - 2. He scorned small-town America in *Main Street*, *Babbitt*, and *Elmer Gantry*.
 - 3. Central to all the hypocrisies of Middle America was religion.
 - C. The other great debunker was Henry Louis Mencken.
 - 1. Where Lewis spouted contempt, Mencken was content with sarcasm.
 - 2. He loathed Wilson as the “Archangel Woodrow.”
 - 3. Mencken dismissed democracy itself as “the booboisie.”
 - 4. His most famous target was William Jennings Bryan.
 - 5. Mencken deputized himself as a reporter to cover the Scopes trial.
- II. The 1920s also created an academic form of debunking.
 - A. In 1884, William James articulated a theory (the James-Lange theory) of emotions that defined them as automatic responses to perception.
 - 1. This theory was popularized as *behaviorism* by John Broadus Watson.
 - 2. The most famous behaviorist was B. F. Skinner.
 - B. But Americans could not live by debunking alone.
 - 1. The behaviorists’ alternative was the hollow man of the psychologists.
 - 2. Democracy, if it could not be an expression of a free human will, could not have very much to say for itself.

Essential Reading:

E. J. Larson, *When All the Gods Trembled*.

Supplementary Reading:

D. W. Bjork, *B. F. Skinner*, chapter 7.

J. M. O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. What was *behaviorism*?
- 2. Did the mockery of Lewis and Mencken succeed in discrediting the targets of that mockery?

Lecture Twenty-Eight

The Social Science Revolution

Scope: The idea that human societies could be reduced to scientific analysis was another byproduct of the Enlightenment, which saw no reason why the discovery of physical law should not be matched by the discovery of social law. But the development of social science in America quickly became mixed with Romanticism, as the earliest anthropologists employed racism and Euro-American superiority as categories and as professional anthropologists used the results of their research to debunk conventional American mores.

Outline

- I. William James admired, but also suspected, Sigmund Freud's invention of psychoanalysis.
 - A. James could not reconcile himself entirely to Freud's atheism and his determinism.
 - 1. In James's pluralistic universe, Freud's dogmatic atheism was unjustified.
 - 2. Free will was the idea James believed rescued him from collapse.
 - B. But the decade of the debunkers belonged more to Freud than James.
 - 1. Debunkers of the 1920s read Freud's description of repression and compared it to Wilson's idealism and Bryan's fundamentalism.
 - 2. But the assault on repression required a respectably scientific process, in the form of anthropology and sociology.
- II. American anthropology began with the work of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft.
 - A. Schoolcraft turned Native American Indians into a subject of scholarly inquiry.
 - 1. But neither Schoolcraft nor Lewis Henry Morgan, a lawyer who studied Indian societies, emerged as champions of the Indian way of life.
 - 2. Morgan's *Ancient Society* assumed that all societies pass through certain stages on the path to modern civilization.
 - 3. Native peoples were always enacting a stage through which Euro-Americans had previously passed (*recapitulation*).
 - B. The doctrine of recapitulation was overthrown by Franz Boas at Columbia University.
 - 1. Boas taught that cultures do not recapitulate—they diffuse and have lives of their own.
 - 2. Hence, every culture is worthy of respect on its own terms and cannot be reduced to a mere stage on the evolutionary path to universal Westernization.
 - C. Ruth Benedict, a student of Boas, turned Boas's doctrine of diffusion into cultural relativism.
 - 1. Culture was a pursuit of harmony, but each culture produced integration in differing ways.
 - 2. Anthropology was a lever of criticism to be used in exposing fundamental certainties as mere customs.
 - D. The best illustration of cultural relativity came from Margaret Mead, another of Boas's students.
 - 1. In *Coming of Age in Samoa*, the process of sexual maturation was described as fun.
 - 2. Mead asked whether Americans wouldn't be happier if they adopted the sexual mores of the Samoans.
 - E. The fieldwork of Boas, Benedict, and Mead earned for anthropology a place among the social sciences.
 - 1. But how scientific was their work?
 - 2. Much of it arose from an impulse shared with the debunkers to find a hoax around every corner.
 - 3. In 1983, New Zealand anthropologist Derek Freeman found that Mead had had little direct contact with Samoan young people herself and that Samoans were quite puritanical about sex.

Essential Reading:

M. M. Caffrey, *Ruth Benedict*.

Supplementary Reading:

A. Douglas, *Terrible Honesty*, chapters 1, 3–4.

D. Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What was the significance of Franz Boas for the development of anthropology?
2. To what extent did the work of Mead and Benedict cross the line between *description* (telling how matters appeared) and *prescription* (telling how they should appear)?

Lecture Twenty-Nine

The New South versus the New Negro

Scope: In its struggle to emerge from the ashes of defeat, the post-Civil War South was torn between holding embitteredly to a vision of a Southern past typified by the Lost Cause myth and submission to the industrial system of the victorious North. But even this “New South” contained elements that faced backwards, which emerged in both the Southern Agrarians of the 1930s and the imposition of Jim Crow legislation on American blacks. This, in turn, posed a challenge to black ambitions and took the shape of the differing strategies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois.

Outline

- I. Southern intellectual life after the Civil War was a struggle to define the region as a New South.
 - A. Henry Woodfin Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, declared that the New South put business above politics.
 - 1. But many Southerners remained unmoved.
 - 2. The Southern Historical Society maintained the nobility of the Lost Cause.
 - B. Southern literati, who had no use for the New Southerners, were willing to make a case *for* Jeffersonian agrarianism and *against* the corporate imperialism of the North.
 - 1. The New Agrarians published a manifesto in 1930, *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition*.
 - 2. They urged a reinterpretation of the Civil War, not as a defense of slavery but as a resistance movement against the evils of industrialism.
 - 3. They reasserted the good life of the agrarian past.
 - 4. They denounced the evils commercialism had brought to the South.
 - 5. The New Agrarians echoed the proslavery arguments against “wage-slavery.”
 - 6. But the New Agrarians were equally antipathetic to science.
- II. Praise of the Old South nevertheless rang hollow in many ears.
 - A. But the New South was no better, being the inventor of Jim Crow.
 - 1. *Jim Crow* referred to a variety of Southern state laws that mandated various forms of racial segregation.
 - 2. It also involved state laws that employed a variety of tricks to strip blacks of the vote.
 - 3. Black attempts to overturn these laws on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment broke up in the federal court system.
 - B. One response to the Old South, the New South, and the white South was offered by Booker T. Washington.
 - 1. Washington was principal of the Tuskegee Institute.
 - 2. Washington’s “Atlanta Exposition Address” advised blacks to outflank Jim Crow, rather than confront it politically.
 - 3. “Cast down your bucket” was Washington’s metaphor for concentrating attention on practical work and life.
 - C. In the mind of W. E. B. Du Bois, the real significance of the address was in what Washington seemed to be telling blacks *not* to expect: higher education, access to education, political ambition.
 - 1. Du Bois considered racism an offense to be denounced, not a condition to be coped with.
 - 2. Du Bois thought that blacks would never rise at all without the development of what he called a *Talented Tenth*, a vanguard of black intellectuals and professionals.
 - 3. Du Bois spread his discontent across the pages of *The Souls of Black Folk*.
 - 4. African-Americans, wrote Du Bois, live with a “double consciousness,” of being American on the one hand yet African on the other.
 - 5. In 1910, the NAACP made Du Bois the editor of its magazine, *The Crisis*.
 - 6. Du Bois rejected the militant black separatism of Marcus Garvey.
 - 7. But in 1934, Du Bois resigned as editor of *The Crisis* and toyed with Marxism as a solution.

8. He finally renounced his American citizenship, joined the Communist Party, and died, an expatriate in Ghana, in 1963.

Essential Reading:

D. L. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*.

Supplementary Reading:

E. L. Ayres, *The Promise of the New South*, chapter 6.

L. R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington*, chapters 2–3.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the most remarkable literary achievements of the New Agrarians?
2. Are there parallels between the New Agrarians and Du Bois and the New South and Washington?

Lecture Thirty

FDR and the Intellectuals

Scope: The Great Depression traumatized the American psyche and, with the election of Franklin Roosevelt, brought about a dramatic realignment of American political life. It also turned American intellectuals decisively against industrial capitalism and even drove a sizable number to embrace communism as an alternative. Roosevelt, however, courted American intellectuals and deployed their energies, not only into dealing with the Depression but into winning World War II.

Outline

- I. Among the Allied powers in the First World War, only the United States seemed to prosper.
 - A. Americans used this new prosperity to indulge in an orgy of consumer spending.
 1. Consumer goods became staples of the American home.
 2. The marks of American exuberance became the cigarette, the short skirt, and jazz.
 - B. Traditional America attempted to strike back.
 1. A national Prohibition Act restricted the legal sale of alcohol.
 2. But the restrictions accomplished little.
 - C. Then, with the onset of the Great Depression, the party ended.
 1. The crash of stock values on Wall Street wiped out the profits from the First World War.
 2. American unemployment raced to 27 percent by 1932.
 3. President Hoover never found an effective way of coping with the Depression.
- II. Elected by a landslide in 1932, Franklin Roosevelt destroyed the old Republican coalition of midwestern farmers and middle-class northeasterners.
 - A. He mobilized the federal government to intervene directly in the faltering economy.
 1. Many of Roosevelt's initiatives were actually extensions of Hoover's.
 2. But Roosevelt created the public psychology to support them.
 3. He asked Americans to treat the Depression as a national emergency that called forth the wartime virtue of discipline.
 - B. Roosevelt really did summon into being an army.
 1. He created the Civilian Conservation Corps.
 2. He signed an Agricultural Adjustment Act to assist farms; a Federal Emergency Relief Act, which poured federal money into empty state coffers; and a National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), which suspended some provisions of antitrust laws to enable businesses to hire more workers.
 - C. In 1929, a new player made its way to the ideological scene, the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA).
 1. It organized more radical unions.
 2. It created the "popular front," an alliance for writers and artists, such as composer Aaron Copland, who felt distanced from mainstream American culture.
 - D. There were also government programs aimed directly at mobilizing the energies of intellectuals.
 1. The Works Project Administration (WPA) funded arts projects.
 2. The Federal Writers' Project hired jobless writers to create living archives of American history.
 3. The WPA funded Pare Lorentz's documentaries with music by Virgil Thompson. The documentaries depicted realistically the problems of Depression-era farmers.
 4. Grant Wood, John Steuart Curry, and Thomas Hart Benton created an American Primitive style in art.
- III. Why did Herbert Hoover leave all this reform to Franklin Roosevelt to accomplish, when in fact, Hoover was by far the more talented administrator?
 - A. Hoover was unable to translate his administrative experience into a full-fledged national mobilization.
 1. As a Quaker and by temperament, he was incapable of rallying Americans to a solution as militaristic as a national mobilization.

2. According to author Paul Johnson, Hoover was willing to sanction public works only if they weren't make-work and if the costs did not unbalance the federal budget.
 - B. Roosevelt was willing to abandon budget-balancing if budget-balancing required national starvation.
- IV. The outbreak of World War II converted Roosevelt from Dr. New Deal to Dr. Win-the-War.
- A. Roosevelt swung into World War II, deliberately courting the support of intellectuals.
 1. For the most part, he got that support, although some, such as John Dewey, warned, "Stay out."
 2. The first year of the war bore a strong psychological resemblance to the opening phase of the New Deal.
 3. The structure of the alliance that opposed Hitler was a very different one from that of 1917.
 - B. This consensus allowed Roosevelt a lighter hand on civil liberties than Wilson had.
 1. The major exception was the internment of 120,000 Japanese-Americans.
 2. Roosevelt used the war to set up the Fair Employment Practices Commission to eliminate segregation and discrimination in factories involved in the war effort.
 - C. Roosevelt had no intention of leaving the postwar settlement to the victors.
 1. Roosevelt laid out a new world order based on "Four Freedoms": freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.
 2. The Atlantic Charter would become the blueprint for the United Nations in 1945.

Essential Reading:

A. L. Hamby, *For the Survival of Democracy*, chapters 1, 3–4, 8–10.

Supplementary Reading:

T. Fleming, *The New Dealers' War*, chapters 3–4.

D. M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, chapters 3, 12.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did Herbert Hoover prove so ineffectual in dealing with the Depression?
2. Why did John Dewey err so greatly in counseling nonintervention in World War II?

Lecture Thirty-One

Science under the Cloud

Scope: The development of the atomic bomb by the Manhattan Project was simultaneously a tremendous public achievement for American scientists and the origin of a serious moral dilemma, all the more serious because the culture of American science was built around the conviction that moral dilemmas were unscientific. Consequently, American scientists were divided not only over the bomb but also over the very need to ask questions about scientific ethics.

Outline

- I. *Naturalism* was the word most often associated with Dewey's version of pragmatism.
 - A. At Columbia, Dewey's circle included Herbert Schneider, John Herman Randall, and Ernst Nagel.
 - 1. Naturalism was contemptuous both of moral philosophy and absolute ethics based on idealism.
 - 2. Naturalism was confident that science offered a value-free methodology for resolving all questions of right and wrong.
 - 3. By mid-century, anything other than "naturalist" ethics collapsed into minute analyses of epistemological distinctions.
 - B. But not even Dewey could have anticipated what terrible forces science could unleash.
 - 1. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor was made possible by advances in naval aviation made by Japanese military engineers.
 - 2. German bombers dropped their bombs on undefended cities in 1940 and 1941.
 - 3. The Allies responded by fire-bombing Lubeck, Hamburg, and Dresden.
 - 4. The genocide of 6 million European Jews was hastened by the latest products of the German chemical giant I.G. Farben.
 - C. Worse was yet to come from the hands of science.
 - 1. In 1939, Albert Einstein wrote to Franklin Roosevelt about new developments in the fission of uranium and the possibility of building an atomic bomb.
 - 2. Roosevelt created a "Uranium Committee," which became the Manhattan Project.
 - 3. The Manhattan Project had a prototype bomb ready for testing in 1945.
- II. It was at this point that the scientists' consciences began to bother them.
 - A. The new president, Harry S. Truman, had been kept in ignorance of the Manhattan Project.
 - 1. He convened an Interim Committee to advise him on the use of the bomb.
 - 2. O. C. Brewster, an engineer who had worked on the Manhattan Project in its early phase, pleaded for the dropping only of a demonstration bomb.
 - 3. Leo Szilard, a physicist at the University of Chicago, submitted a petition signed by 70 physicists outlining criteria for how the bomb should be used.
 - B. Truman decided to drop the bomb and selected four target cities: Hiroshima, Kokura, Nagasaki, and Niigata.
 - 1. Truman issued a final ultimatum to Japan. When that ultimatum was rejected, Hiroshima was selected as the target.
 - 2. On August 6, 1945, a B-29 dropped an atomic bomb there, flattening the city and killing 70,000 people.
- III. But instead of ending the debate, dropping the bomb only heightened it.
 - A. Did scientists have a responsibility for the outcomes and uses of their research and work?
 - 1. Percy Williams Bridgman, a professor of mathematics at Harvard, argued that it was unrealistic for scientists to do more than mind their own professional business.
 - 2. Isidor Isaac Rabi of MIT insisted that the social responsibility of science was to do good science and publish the results objectively.
 - 3. Physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer warned against laying a perimeter of moral prohibitions around science.

- B.** Others were not quite so confident that simply practicing good science absolved them from sin.
1. MIT mathematics prodigy Norbert Wiener announced that he would publish no more research that he suspected might be used for military purposes.
 2. Einstein believed that conscience was far more binding than policy considerations in Washington.
 3. The replacement of religion and ethics with scientific excitement does little to suggest that appeals to deliberation will be well heard.

Essential Reading:

G. Alperovitz, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb*, chapters 36–42.

Supplementary Reading:

J. Hershberg, *James B. Conant*, chapters 8–14.

M. White and J. Gribben, *Einstein*, chapter 13.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why was Leo Szilard's petition ignored?
2. Do scientists have a duty to consider other questions beyond the strictly scientific?

Lecture Thirty-Two

Ironie Judgments

Scope: Reinhold Niebuhr exposed far more ruthlessly than his conservative counterparts in the 1950s the facile underpinnings of liberal optimism, and all the more so given that Niebuhr started from Progressive premises. His skepticism about the moral aspirations of Progressives and debunkers alike came mixed with an urgency to separate ethics from perfectionism so that it could function in the real world of resistance to totalitarianism.

Outline

- I. Lessons in postwar moral pessimism came largely from a theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr.
 - A. Niebuhr's father, Gustav Niebuhr, was a minister of the German Evangelical Synod.
 - 1. The Evangelical Synod churches were not dogmatists.
 - 2. Gustav's thinking was a mix of liberal Christianity and agrarian Populism.
 - B. Niebuhr became a pastor in Detroit in 1915.
 - 1. The Ford Motor Works made Detroit the fourth largest city in America.
 - 2. But to Niebuhr, Henry Ford looked a charlatan.
 - C. In 1922, Niebuhr began writing articles for *The Christian Century*, a magazine for Protestant liberals.
 - 1. Niebuhr denied there was a Christian basis to modern industry.
 - 2. This flew in the face of Bruce Barton's *The Man Nobody Knows*, which portrayed Jesus as a kinder, gentler version of Henry Ford.
 - 3. By the end of the 1920s, Niebuhr was convinced that no industrialist would ever share power without being forced to do so.
- II. Niebuhr was invited to become associate professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary in New York City.
 - A. There, Niebuhr rediscovered total depravity.
 - 1. Christian ethics can never be fully realized in the course of human history because history is always the realm of the relative, the shifting, and the changing.
 - 2. History is shot through with moral meaning, but the meaning is never exact.
 - 3. If Christianity had a social mission, it was to illustrate the imperfections of social solutions.
 - 4. Absolutes do not flourish in history because their purpose is to stand outside history.
 - B. The Great Depression confirmed Niebuhr's dark view of human motivation
 - 1. In 1932, he mounted an assault on optimism with *Moral Man and Immoral Society*.
 - 2. His primary target was the social pragmatism of John Dewey.
 - 3. Dewey responded in *A Common Faith*, accusing Niebuhr of thoughtless conservatism.
 - C. But Niebuhr believed that Dewey had wedded himself to four untenable propositions:
 - 1. That injustice is caused by ignorance and will yield ground to education and greater intelligence.
 - 2. That civilization is becoming more moral, and further appeals to love, justice, good will, and brotherhood will guarantee the flowering of a good society.
 - 3. That goodness makes for happiness.
 - 4. That wars are stupid and caused only by those who are stupider than far-seeing pacifists.
 - D. Niebuhr suspected that socialism amounted to little more than impotent theoretical ravings.
 - 1. The willingness of Joseph Stalin to enter into a nonaggression pact with Hitler in 1939 confirmed this suspicion.
 - 2. Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union brought the pacifists and socialists suddenly crying for American intervention, which only enraged Niebuhr more. In 1940, he resigned from the Socialist Party, which he had joined in 1929.
- III. Niebuhr was not hopeful for an easy postwar settlement.
 - A. Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union began to deteriorate.

1. Niebuhr signed his name to a protest against the Hiroshima bombing.
 2. But he was anxious that Americans not mistake the need to confront the Soviets with a position of absolute moral purity.
- B. Niebuhr thought that the great myth of American history was the belief that America been called by God to create a new humanity.
1. Niebuhr insisted that there was nothing in American history that should make Americans think they were a new model for the rest of humanity.
 2. Yet that did not mean that Americans had no just role to play in stopping the Soviets.
 3. The American position was one of neither total purity nor total hypocrisy but of *irony*.
 4. Americans must understand that God's purposes are greater than any single nation's aspirations and that he laughs at the pretensions of the self-righteous.
 5. The great model of this understanding in American history was Abraham Lincoln.
- C. When he died in 1971, Niebuhr was mourned as the greatest American theologian of his day.
1. But little of his legacy survives.
 2. His many books were long on concept and short on positive prescription.
 3. What both Lincoln and Niebuhr are a reminder of, in a secularized society, is the need for humility.

Essential Reading:

R. W. Fox, *Reinhold Niebuhr*, chapters 5–10.

Supplementary Reading:

W. R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*, chapter 9.

M. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land*, chapter 18.

Questions to Consider:

1. What did Niebuhr mean by *irony*?
2. As a theologian, how is Niebuhr similar to (or different from) Walter Rauschenbusch, Charles Hodge, or Jonathan Edwards?

Lecture Thirty-Three

Mass Culture and Mass Consumption

Scope: The rise of mass totalitarian regimes in Europe in the 1930s propelled the most important wave of intellectual immigration to America since the 1840s. But many of the émigrés were equally critical of the near-total grip of commercial culture on American thinking and deplored the vicious conformity that mass media and mass culture were imposing. The American response was to glorify mass culture and turn it into an art form, pop art.

Outline

- I. In the 1930s, European artists and intellectuals fled from repression to seek the safety of the United States.
 - A. This exodus began with the artists, but others soon followed.
 - 1. These émigré intellectuals had not come willingly and felt little attraction to American life.
 - 2. They were usually indifferent to religion.
 - 3. They were critical of America's free-wheeling capitalism.
 - 4. Their challenge was to find a way to express their repugnance to American culture without attacking the American democracy that had saved them.
 - B. The first great émigré critic of mass culture was Eric Fromm.
 - 1. Fromm liked to mix psychoanalysis with cultural criticism.
 - 2. He wrote that people shrink from freedom and escape into *authoritarianism, destruction, and conformity*.
 - 3. Americans lived under conformity, the weapon of matured capitalism.
 - 4. Americans acquiesced passively to a cultural regime empty of content.
 - 5. Television was the embodiment of everything Fromm and the émigrés condemned in American culture.
 - C. Herbert Marcuse blended Marx and Freud in a critique of American mass culture.
 - 1. In *Eros and Civilization*, Marcuse warned that television was inducing a premature maturity in the children who watched it.
 - 2. Modern capitalist society induced a pseudo-maturity in which rebellion is rendered impermissible.
- II. But mass culture refused to accept this critique and politely wither under its exposure.
 - A. Instead, the 1950s gave birth to pop art.
 - 1. Pop art championed the glitzy, the cheap, and the commercial.
 - 2. The term was invented by Lawrence Alloway, a British-born art critic.
 - B. Pop art soon came to mean three things:
 - 1. It glorified mechanization.
 - 2. It embraced expendability.
 - 3. It celebrated sheer riotous visual abundance.
 - C. The most sensational of the pop artists was Andy Warhol.
 - 1. Warhol started as a commercial advertiser but became a pop artist in 1960, when he painted his first comic-strip images for a window display.
 - 2. In 1962, he began creating the prints that made him famous: *32 Campbell Soup Cans, Marilyn, Jackie*.
 - 3. After a stalker nearly ended his life in 1968, his energy faded, as did interest in pop art.
 - D. The question pop art could not answer was why anyone should bother to buy it.
 - 1. Possibly, pop art was an exercise in satire.
 - 2. Pop art practitioners made it impossible to look with contempt on mass culture in the way Marcuse and Fromm did.
 - 3. But pop art achieved this by confirming the émigrés' suspicions of mass culture.

Essential Reading:

M. Kammen, *American Culture, American Tastes*.

Supplementary Reading:

J. Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, chapter 12.

R. H. Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age*, chapter 4.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what way did Erich Fromm believe Americans escaped from freedom?
2. Was pop art a confirmation or a rebuttal of the émigré intellectuals' criticism of American culture?

Lecture Thirty-Four

Integration and Separation

Scope: The disillusionment of W. E. B. Du Bois, the impermanence of the Harlem Renaissance, and the persistence of segregation left black intellectuals looking for radical solutions, either in expatriation or in bizarre religious cult movements. It was a mainstream religious figure, Martin Luther King, who guided the black struggle for civil rights back onto the path of integration into American society and culture.

Outline

- I. Black Americans still believed Du Bois' original goal of binding the experience of being black and American into a "new Black American."
 - A. A Harlem Renaissance was built around black writers in the newly integrated upper Manhattan suburb of Harlem.
 - 1. The Harlem Renaissance was composed of exactly the "Talented Tenth" that Du Bois had hoped for.
 - 2. It included James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Carl Van Vechten, Alain Locke, and Zora Neale Hurston.
 - 3. The greatest collective achievement of the Harlem Renaissance occurred with the anthology *The New Negro* in 1924.
 - B. But the Great Depression flattened and scattered the Harlem writers.
 - 1. James Weldon Johnson died in an auto accident in 1938.
 - 2. Zora Neale Hurston was reduced to working as a maid in Florida.
 - 3. Countee Cullen, who had married Du Bois' daughter, taught French at a Harlem middle school.
- II. Thereafter, black writers followed Du Bois' rejection of an integrated society.
 - A. James Baldwin was directly connected to the Harlem Renaissance because he was one of Cullen's students.
 - 1. He was terrorized by his stepfather and by white racial humiliation.
 - 2. Baldwin became an expatriate and published *Notes of a Native Son* (1955), *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), and *Giovanni's Room* (1956) in Europe.
 - 3. But he was unable to blend into European life.
 - 4. Baldwin believed that what American blacks needed was a righteous prophet.
 - B. Baldwin thought he had found this prophet in Elijah Muhammad.
 - 1. Elijah Muhammad was born Elijah Poole in Georgia in 1897.
 - 2. He came under the spell of Wallace D. Fard, the first prophet of the Nation of Islam.
 - 3. In Fard's cosmology, American blacks were the descendants of the Tribe of Shabazz.
 - 4. Whites came into existence as the result of an experiment by a corrupt scientist, Yacub.
 - 5. When Fard disappeared in 1934, Poole assumed leadership of the Nation of Islam and renamed himself Elijah Muhammad.
- III. A far better claim to being a righteous prophet was held by Martin Luther King.
 - A. King's youth had none of the shades thrown over it that Baldwin's had.
 - 1. He went to Morehouse College, an all-black college in Atlanta.
 - 2. He studied at Crozier Theological Seminary and Boston University.
 - B. King's first intellectual love was Walter Rauschenbusch.
 - 1. From Rauschenbusch, King learned that any valid religious commitment had to incorporate a concern for the social welfare of people.
 - 2. But King eventually found Rauschenbusch lacking in hard-headedness.
 - C. That skepticism led King next to Reinhold Niebuhr, then to Mohandas Gandhi.
 - 1. Niebuhr thought that Gandhi had merely been lucky in his enemies.
 - 2. King revolted at Niebuhr's attempt to reduce nonviolent resistance and violent resistance to the same moral level.
 - D. In April 1954, King became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama.

1. The South was in ferment from desegregation and the emergence of a black middle class.
 2. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks defied segregation on Montgomery's bus system.
 3. Four days later, the NAACP turned to King to lead a boycott of Montgomery's buses.
 4. Once in charge, King's gift for oratory and his management of the boycott in the image of Gandhian nonviolence made him a national hero.
- E. The next decade, from 1955 to 1964, belonged to Martin Luther King.
1. But King's influence over American blacks began steadily to wane.
 2. The reforms he promoted chiefly benefited the black middle class.
 3. In the summer of 1965, the black Los Angeles neighborhood of Watts erupted in a massive race riot.
 4. The Watts riot was the first of a series of similar race riots between 1965 and 1968 whose message was insurrection and rage.
- IV. That rage was embraced by Elijah Muhammad's chief deputy, Malcolm Little.
- A. Malcolm Little renamed himself Malcolm X after his conversion to the Nation of Islam in 1952.
1. Malcolm X was charismatic and willing to flirt with violence.
 2. Elijah Muhammad tried to impose a ban of silence on Malcolm X in 1964.
- B. But Malcolm X left the Nation of Islam, this time as a convert to Sunni Islam.
1. On February 21, 1965, three hired gunmen shot Malcolm X to death.
 2. When Elijah Muhammad died in 1975, control of the Nation of Islam passed to his son, Wallace Dean Muhammad, who merged the organization into the overall American Islamic network.
 3. But Louis Farrakhan formed a radical faction under the old name of Nation of Islam that rededicated itself to the original hatred of whites.
- C. The most effective scheme for boosting blacks was devised by a white Southerner, Lyndon Johnson.
1. In 1965, Johnson announced Executive Order 11246 for affirmative action.
 2. It has continued to infuriate whites and to unsettle black elites who never abandoned Du Bois' belief in the Talented Tenth.
 3. In 1990, black sociologist Shelby Steele attacked affirmative action as demeaning.
 4. William Julius Wilson warned in 1987 that affirmative action had done more for the black middle classes than the urban poor.
 5. In 1999, in *The Bridge over the Racial Divide*, Wilson called for transracial solutions to urban poverty.

Essential Reading:

C. Carson, ed., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, chapters 1–14.

Supplementary Reading:

C. Carson, et al., eds., *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader*.

D. Howard-Pitney, ed., *Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, and the Civil Rights Struggle of the 1950s and 1960s*.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways did the Nation of Islam reject, and accommodate, white society?
2. Is America's struggle with race still a racial conflict or a class conflict?

Lecture Thirty-Five

The Rebellion of the Privileged

Scope: World War II looked like a triumph over fascism but not necessarily in favor of liberal democracy. American intellectuals, scarred by the Depression era, together with a new postwar generation of college-attendees who were influenced by the criticisms of the émigré intellectuals, were radicalized into a New Left by the Vietnam War. But the New Left's agenda for an ill-defined revolution in American affairs wilted in the face of government hostility and general indifference.

Outline

- I. For Americans, the Second World War looked like a victory for liberal democracy.
 - A. But the rejoicing had to be shared with the Soviet Union.
 - 1. Europeans interpreted the war as a rescue performed by Marxist socialism.
 - 2. Truman was advised that the American armies were too weak to challenge the Soviet armies.
 - B. Within the United States, voices were raised in defense of the Soviets.
 - 1. Henry Wallace, Truman's secretary of agriculture, urged Truman to cooperate with the Soviets.
 - 2. Roosevelt's deputy treasury secretary, Harry Dexter White, and atomic scientists Klaus Fuchs and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg passed American secrets to the Soviets.
 - 3. The rationale for cooperating with the Soviets was a political one.
- II. Skepticism about liberal democracy could also be found in the American universities.
 - A. From the 1890s onward, college was where Americans were fitted for places in the American economy.
 - 1. The priorities in education shifted to the secular and the commercial.
 - 2. In 1919, Harvard students volunteered to help break the Boston police strike.
 - B. Two factors altered the complacency of American colleges and universities.
 - 1. The émigré intellectuals of the 1930s who were snapped up for university faculties felt alienated from American life.
 - 2. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (or the G.I. Bill), set off a stampede into the American college and university system.
 - 3. As an undergraduate degree became the middle class's key of promise, the faculties were undergoing significant political radicalization.
 - C. The consensus among the émigré Marxists was that Marxism was wasted on the American working class.
 - 1. The American worker was too sated with the cornucopia of goods.
 - 2. The revolution would have to be made by an intellectual vanguard of students.
 - D. American intellectuals were already discovering that the corporation and the suburb could be stultifying.
 - 1. Sloan Wilson's *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1956) described the restlessness of a corporate manikin.
 - 2. Betty Friedan extended this portrait to the woman in the suburbs in her book *The Feminine Mystique*.
 - 3. Sociologist C. Wright Mills described corporate life as a narcotic administered by the "Power Elite."
- III. To undergraduates mentored by an alienated faculty, the university had become a service station for the Establishment.
 - A. This came to a confrontation in September 1964.
 - 1. Berkeley students tried to stage a sympathy demonstration for the Civil Rights Movement.
 - 2. Mario Savio turned the demonstrations into the Free Speech Movement.
 - B. The banner of the student revolutionaries was the Port Huron Statement.
 - 1. The Vietnam War gave them a catalyzing issue.
 - 2. The New Left made common cause with the broader student resistance to the war.
 - C. But a different way of responding was to disengage, rather than engage.
 - 1. This path was popularized by Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*.
 - 2. Timothy Leary promoted experiments with hallucinogenic drugs.

- D. There were three ways in which the student revolution ground itself to a halt.
 - 1. No more than a quarter of the American student population sympathized with the antiwar movement.
 - 2. The antiwar movement was also bled by violent confrontations.
 - 3. It destroyed itself by dissension from within.
- E. The New Left saw itself as the vanguard of a revolution.
 - 1. But the student revolutionaries were revolutionaries against themselves.
 - 2. The final blow came in 1973, with the end of the Vietnam War.

Essential Reading:

N. Friedman, *Fifty-Year War*, chapters 1–4, 28–30.

Supplementary Reading:

V. Gosse, ed., *The Movements of the New Left, 1950–1975: A Brief History with Documents*.

J. E. Haynes and H. Klehr, *In Denial: Historians, Communism and Sabotage*, chapter 4.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. What fundamental strategy distinguished the New Left from the Old Left?
- 2. What caused the collapse of the New Left in the 1970s?

Lecture Thirty-Six

The Neo-Conservatives

Scope: From the Progressives onward, it was the American Left that set the direction of most of American social change, and little in the way of a coherent conservative political philosophy stood in its path. Once again, it was the émigré intellectuals—this time, those frightened by the specter of totalitarianism and the fragility of liberalism—who erected the philosophical scaffolding for American conservatism. It was a composite movement, combining elements of religious dissent and secular liberalism, but it offered a viable intellectual alternative for Americans who remained fundamentally loyal to the liberalism of the Founders.

Outline

- I. The American Left gained tremendous ground between the Gilded Age and the Second World War.
 - A. However, most of the movements were bitterly critical of each other.
 - 1. The leadership had generated little enthusiasm among working-class and middle-class Americans.
 - 2. The few leaders with working-class origins were marginalized by the Left's elites.
 - B. Americans voted for Progressive candidates as a means for ensuring their chance for mobility and betterment.
 - 1. The Left scored its biggest political gains when it advertised its policies as the best method for ensuring individual prosperity.
 - 2. This made it difficult for the critics of the Left to organize themselves as a genuine opposition party.
- II. There was no American version of *conservatism* until after 1945.
 - A. Its origins were also linked to the arrival of the émigré intellectuals.
 - 1. For the Middle European émigrés, the Versailles Treaty was a symbol of the disasters that followed from well-intentioned idealists.
 - 2. Friedrich Hayek insisted that social and economic planning was the lethal enemy of democracy.
 - B. Leo Strauss, the most obscure of the conservative émigrés, formulated five axioms for the preservation of democracy:
 - 1. Inequality and freedom cannot be avoided.
 - 2. Attempts to reduce inequality will necessarily reduce freedom.
 - 3. Freedom cannot survive if it is defined only as the freedom to accumulate material possessions.
 - 4. Politics must be linked to the cultivation of virtue, whether philosophical or religious.
 - 5. The best government is based on prudence, moderation, and reason.
 - C. The émigrés found allies in America in three places.
 - 1. Former American communists who had turned away from socialism (Max Eastman, James Burnham, Whittaker Chambers).
 - 2. Traditionalist Roman Catholics who admired Edmund Burke (Russell Kirk, William F. Buckley).
 - 3. Southern agrarians who also resented the ease with which they were made the sport of the Left (Richard Weaver).
- III. Translating this into practical politics and successful legislation was a more difficult project.
 - A. Both the Catholics and the Straussians at first had little taste for politics.
 - 1. Much of what passed for conservative politics was Populist anticommunism (the John Birch Society).
 - 2. The low point of Populist anticommunism arrived when Barry Goldwater ran a presidential campaign on a radical anticommunist message.
 - B. But in 1980, Jimmy Carter was heaved from office by Ronald Reagan, the first conservative president.
 - 1. Reagan marked the recruitment of ex-liberals and working-class Protestants.
 - 2. The Left found it difficult to understand why working-class Americans would vote on the basis of culture rather than economics.
 - 3. But the five Republican electoral victories between 1980 and 2004 breathed life into the conservative intellectual movement.
 - 4. The Reagan administration turned to the pupils of Strauss and Hayek to staff its offices.

5. They were trained by conservative think-tanks (the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute).

IV. Conservatism remains a coalition movement.

- A. Its three main branches, however, Theo-Conservatives, Neo-Conservatives, and Paleo-Conservatives, do not always cooperate.
- B. The future of conservative ideology is still to be determined.

V. What is sure, however, is the persistence of the six themes that have appeared again and again throughout this course.

- A. The first three have always been a part of American intellectual history:
 1. The struggle between intellect and will.
 2. The importance of religious ideas as a living part of American intellectual life.
 3. The struggle between religion and enlightenment.
- B. The last three themes are newcomers, but they will be with us for quite some time:
 1. The power of liberal capitalism.
 2. The role of pragmatism.
 3. The ascent of the United States as a world power.

Essential Reading:

G. Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up*, chapters 2, 5, 10–11.

Supplementary Reading:

D. T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage*, chapter 7.

I. Kristol, *Neo-Conservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*, chapters 1, 24, 31–33, 39.

Questions to Consider:

1. What was the significance of the election of Ronald Reagan as president in 1980?
2. Why did Leo Strauss fear for the future of democracy?

Timeline

1636	Harvard College is founded.
1687	William Brattle writes <i>A Compendium of Logick, According to Modern Philosophy</i> to introduce the Cartesian method to Harvard.
1690	John Locke's <i>Essay Concerning Human Understanding</i> is published.
1701	Yale College is founded.
1722	The "Great Apostacie" at Yale: The rector, Timothy Cutler, and four tutors renounce Congregationalism.
1723	Benjamin Franklin arrives in Philadelphia.
1729	Jonathan Edwards becomes pastor of the church in Northampton, Massachusetts.
1732	Franklin begins publication of <i>Poor Richard's Almanac</i> .
1734	First "awakening" in Northampton, Massachusetts.
1739–1741	The Great Awakening.
1754	King's College (Columbia) is founded, with Samuel Johnson as president; Jonathan Edwards publishes <i>Freedom of the Will</i> .
1768	John Witherspoon becomes president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton).
1776	Thomas Jefferson writes the Declaration of Independence.
1781–1782	Thomas Jefferson writes <i>Notes on the State of Virginia</i> .
1786	Virginia adopts Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom.
1787	Philadelphia Convention composes the Constitution.
1801	John Marshall is named Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.
1812	Princeton Theological Seminary is founded, with Archibald Alexander as first professor.
1829	James Marsh publishes an American edition of Coleridge's <i>Aids to Reflection</i> .
1831	William Lloyd Garrison begins publishing <i>The Liberator</i> .
1834	Henry Clay calls for creation of the Whig Party.
1835	First edition of Francis Wayland's <i>Elements of Moral Science</i> is published.
1836	Ralph Waldo Emerson publishes <i>Nature</i> .
1837	Emerson delivers "The American Scholar" address to the Phi Beta Kappa society at Harvard.
1840	John Williamson Nevin joins faculty of German Reformed seminary in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania.
1841	Brook Farm community is established.
1847	Horace Bushnell publishes <i>Christian Nurture</i> .
1859	Darwin's <i>Origin of Species</i> is published.
1860	Abraham Lincoln is elected 16 th president.
1861–1865	The American Civil War takes place.

1863.....	Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation.
1866.....	William Torrey Harris begins publishing <i>The Journal of Speculative Philosophy</i> .
1869.....	Charles William Eliot becomes president of Harvard.
1873.....	Charles Hodge publishes <i>Systematic Theology</i> in three volumes.
1876.....	Johns Hopkins University is founded as the first American graduate research institution.
1878.....	Charles Sanders Peirce publishes “How to Make Our Ideas Clear.”
1879.....	Henry George proposes “single tax” in <i>Progress and Poverty</i> .
1882.....	Josiah Royce joins the faculty of Harvard.
1886.....	Haymarket Riot; Edward Bellamy begins writing <i>Looking Backward</i> ; Henry W. Grady delivers “New South” speech; Walter Rauschenbusch is ordained pastor of German Baptist congregation in New York City.
1890.....	William James’s <i>Principles of Psychology</i> is published.
1893.....	Charles Augustus Briggs is suspended from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church.
1894.....	Strike of the Pullman workers blossoms into national railroad strike; John Dewey arrives at the University of Chicago.
1895.....	Booker T. Washington delivers “Atlanta Exposition Address.”
1896.....	Dewey opens the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago and publishes “The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology”; Franz Boas is appointed director of the American Museum of Natural History; U.S. Supreme Court legitimizes racial segregation in <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> .
1901.....	Theodore Roosevelt succeeds the assassinated William McKinley as 26 th president.
1903.....	W. E. B. Du Bois publishes <i>The Souls of Black Folk</i> .
1907.....	James delivers the Lowell Lectures on <i>Pragmatism</i> .
1908.....	Henry Ford introduces the Model T.
1909.....	Herbert Croly publishes the Progressives’ manifesto, <i>The Promise of American Life</i> .
1911.....	Frederick Winslow Taylor sums up his theories on workplace efficiency in <i>The Principles of Scientific Management</i> .
1912.....	Woodrow Wilson is elected 28 th president.
1915.....	Reinhold Niebuhr becomes pastor of church in Detroit.
1917.....	United States enters World War I.
1920.....	Sinclair Lewis publishes <i>Main Street</i> .
1925.....	The Scopes trial takes place in Dayton, Tennessee.
October 24, 1929.....	New York Stock Market crashes and the Great Depression begins.
1930.....	Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, and Robert Penn Warren publish <i>I’ll Take My Stand</i> .
1932.....	Niebuhr attacks Dewey in <i>Moral Man and Immoral Society</i> .

1934.....	Ruth Benedict publishes <i>Patterns of Culture</i> ; Elijah Muhammad assumes leadership of the Nation of Islam.
May 6, 1935.....	Harry Hopkins organizes the Works Project Administration.
1939.....	Albert Einstein writes to Franklin D. Roosevelt to apprise him of developments in physics that could make an atomic bomb possible.
1941.....	Erich Fromm publishes <i>Escape from Freedom</i> ; United States enters World War II.
1944.....	Friedrich Hayek's <i>Road to Serfdom</i> is published; Congress passes Servicemen's Readjustment Act.
1945.....	Yalta Conference; atomic bomb is dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
1948.....	B. F. Skinner publishes <i>Walden II</i> ; James Baldwin leaves the United States for France; Whittaker Chambers denounces Alger Hiss as a Soviet spy.
1953.....	Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are executed as Soviet spies.
1955.....	<i>National Review</i> is founded by William F. Buckley; Herbert Marcuse publishes <i>Eros and Civilization</i> ; Rosa Parks refuses to give up her bus seat in Montgomery, Alabama.
1956.....	Lawrence Alloway coins the term <i>pop art</i> .
1962.....	The Port Huron Statement heralds the arrival of the New Left.
1963.....	Betty Friedan publishes <i>The Feminine Mystique</i> .
1964.....	Free Speech Movement confrontation at Berkeley; Civil Rights Act is passed by Congress.
1965.....	Malcolm X is assassinated; riot consumes Watts district of Los Angeles.
April 4, 1968.....	Martin Luther King is assassinated.
May 4, 1970.....	National Guardsmen open fire on antiwar demonstrators at Kent State University.
1973.....	Vietnam War ends.
1980.....	Ronald Reagan is elected 40 th president.
1987.....	Allan Bloom's <i>The Closing of the American Mind</i> becomes a surprise bestseller.
1995.....	<i>The Weekly Standard</i> is founded as journal for Straussian Neo-Conservatives.
2000.....	George W. Bush is elected 43 rd president.

Glossary

Abolitionist: An advocate of the immediate abolition of slavery, a position best illustrated in William Lloyd Garrison.

Agrarian: Term applied to the view that land and agriculture are the only true sources of wealth and that a society based on agriculture is socially and morally superior to one based on industrial capitalism.

Analogy: A method that discovered lawlike order in human consciousness by extrapolating from observations of lawlike behavior in physical nature.

Anthropology: The study of the technological, cultural, and social patterns of human life. Pioneered by Franz Boas and popularized through the work of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead.

Behaviorism: A form of psychology that asserts that actual behavior is the only legitimate object of psychological study and that behavior modification is to be achieved through the manipulation and conditioning of responses.

Calvinism: A school of Protestant Christian theology that stresses the absolute sovereignty of God and the dependence of human will on God's prior decree.

Capitalism: A set of economic and social relations in which one class owns the means of production and another class provides the labor, with (a) profit for the first class coming from the surplus value it is able to charge over and above the wages of the laborers and (b) the profit being turned into investment in more production or capital.

“Common sense”: Concept developed by Thomas Reid and Francis Hutcheson, who argued that human moral judgments were made instinctively and uniformly or commonly.

Deism: A generalized belief in a creator who superintends human events only generally and according to natural law.

Enlightenment: An intellectual event that set aside traditional religious and philosophical authority in preference for empirical observation and criticism of conventional social and political arrangements and that advocated reliance on the adequacy of human reason for the solution of problems. Often associated with the promotion of **natural law**, **liberalism**, and **republicanism** (q.v.).

Epistemology: General philosophical term for theories about how minds know things.

Great Awakening: A large-scale religious revival, lasting from 1739–1741. Its most prominent figure was George Whitefield.

Half-Way Covenant: Adopted in 1662 by a general synod of church representatives from the Puritan churches of Massachusetts Bay, the Half-Way Covenant was a compromise position on the question of who was entitled to admission to communion and baptism in the Congregational churches of the Bay Colony. With the waning of active piety in Massachusetts society, the 1662 synod decided to permit the baptism of the children of colonists who did not qualify for full church membership but to deny them access to communion. This compromise was denounced by Jonathan Edwards, who wished to return to the more demanding piety of the full-membership requirements in the 1740s. The term was first invented in 1790 by Edwards's pupil, Joseph Bellamy.

Idealism: Philosophical doctrine that minds know only ideas and have no reliable access to objects in an external world.

Immaterialism: A form of idealism that argues that all existence and causality consist of the mind of God, the finite minds he has created, and the ideas God imparts to them.

Irony: An attitude of observation that stresses the failure of human intentions to produce the results they expect; as promoted by Reinhold Niebuhr, it encouraged an attitude of realistic humility about social reform and the aspirations of American foreign policy.

Liberalism: Term originally applied to opponents of the monarchy who urged the restructuring of society by reason and civic morality rather than by inherited tradition or religious authority. *Economic* liberalism was identified in the 19th century with free trade, free markets, and social mobility, but *liberalism* was more often used in the 20th century to describe a cultural position of permissiveness, dissent from religious orthodoxy, and moderate Left politics.

Moral philosophy: Investigation of the philosophical basis for ethical questions.

Natural law: (a) The instinctive moral precepts that reside in all human consciousness; (b) the physical laws by which the natural world can be shown to operate.

Natural selection: The key concept of Darwinian evolution, in which random mutations in living beings provide a particular advantage in the struggle for survival over other beings, causing the latter to die out and the former to multiply and, in turn, resulting in the gradual evolution of the survivors into different species.

Neo-Conservative: Term applied by Irving Kristol to members of the Old Left who rebelled against antidemocratic developments in liberal and New Left political thought.

New Deal: Program of relief measures implemented by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to deal with the economic impact of the Great Depression.

New Left: Term applied to radical critics of the 1950s and 1960s who criticized American democracy as a sham and favored substitution of students and intellectuals for the working class as the vanguard of an anticapitalist revolution.

New Light: Term applied to the supporters of the Great Awakening.

Populism: Agrarian protest movement that criticized the control of railroads and finance over western agriculture. The best-known Populist figure was William Jennings Bryan.

Pragmatism: Philosophical doctrine formulated by Charles Sanders Peirce and popularized by William James that identified truth as the principles upon which an individual was prepared to act in a given situation.

Progressives: Middle-class reform movement that sought to use professionalism to eliminate corruption in government and use government oversight to rationalize social service.

Realism: Philosophical doctrine that argues that minds have dependable sensations of the external world. *Representational* realism taught that ideas mediate the contact of the mind with external reality but nevertheless afford dependable information on objects in the external world. *Direct* realism taught that minds are directly and noninferentially aware of objects in the external world.

Recapitulation: Anthropological concept that taught that all societies follow the same pattern of development, although they may be at different stages of that development at any given time.

Reconstruction: Philosophical method recommended by John Dewey that urged the application of pragmatism to social questions, the abolition of religious considerations, and the substitution of the scientific method in determining social policy.

Republicanism: Political concept that rooted sovereignty in the people of a given polity rather than in an aristocracy or theocracy. Republics exist on a spectrum of being more or less democratic in their actual structure. *Classical* republicanism refers to republics that emphasize the public interest over private interest and was often **agrarian** (q.v.) in outlook; *liberal* republicanism refers to the promotion of private interest as the most efficient way of producing public good and was often associated with an accommodation between democracy and capitalism.

Revival: A communal renewal of religious interest and enthusiasm. The best example is the Great Awakening.

Romanticism: Cultural doctrine that opposed the Enlightenment's focus on reason at the expense of nonrational factors in human decisions, such as race or "the sublime."

Scholasticism: A method of inquiry based on logical analysis of propositions and guided by Aristotelian concepts of causality. The basic learning method of the late medieval European universities and 17th-century Protestant theologians.

Social Darwinism: Adaptation of natural selection by Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner to social criticism, in which interventions by government or charity in the economic and social survival of citizens were discouraged as a violation of the principles of evolution.

"Social Gospel": Term applied to the teachings of Walter Rauschenbusch that substituted social intervention by the church for concerns with revivalism and theological orthodoxy.

Socialism: Political and economic doctrine that argued that the means of production should be owned or managed by society as a whole so as to prevent individual accumulations of capital.

Technologia (Latin): Comprehensive scholastic systems devised to provide encyclopedia-like explanations of philosophy and theology.

Theology: The study of the nature and being of God.

Transcendentalism: Term applied to Kantian Romanticism that referred to matters that *transcended* the capacities of reason and to the method of examining the prerational suppositions that underlie and control the processes of reason.

Whig: (a) Political term that described the opposition antimonarchical party in the 18th-century English Parliament; (b) name adopted by Henry Clay for the Whig party to identify the critics of Andrew Jackson with the 18th-century parliamentary opposition to Jackson's "monarchy" as president.

Biographical Notes

Henry Adams (1838–1918). Great-grandson of John Adams (third president of the United States). Graduated from Harvard College (1858) and served as secretary to his father, Charles Francis Adams, while the latter was American minister to Great Britain during the Civil War. Joined the history department at Harvard (1870–1877). Caustic critic of the Gilded Age. Wrote *History of the United States* (1889–1891), *Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres* (1904), and *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907).

Edward Bellamy (1850–1898). Journalist and writer. Wrote the quasi-socialist utopian novel, *Looking Backward* (1887), predicting a hopeful resolution of “the social question” of labor and capitalism.

Ruth Benedict (1887–1948). Anthropologist. Graduated from Vassar College (1909) and studied anthropology under Franz Boas at Columbia University, where she earned a Ph.D. in 1923. She taught at Columbia from 1928–1948. Her 1934 book, *Patterns of Culture*, shaped the development of anthropology as a discipline.

Horace Bushnell (1802–1876). Congregational clergyman and theologian. Graduated from Yale College (1827) and was ordained pastor of North Church, Hartford, Connecticut. Published *Christian Nurture* (1847) and *God in Christ* (1849), which introduced Romantic theories of language to Protestant theology.

Eugene V. Debs (1855–1926). Socialist and labor advocate, he was president of the American Railway Union during the Pullman strike of 1894. Ran as the Socialist candidate for president in 1900–1912 and again in 1920. Jailed during World War I by the Wilson administration for advocating resistance to the draft.

John Dewey (1859–1952). Philosopher and educator. Graduated from the University of Vermont (1879) and Johns Hopkins University (Ph.D., 1888). Taught at the University of Michigan and University of Chicago, where he invented a social version of pragmatism and applied it through the founding of the Laboratory School. Moved to Columbia University in 1904 and became an advocate for pragmatic “reconstruction” of philosophy.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868–1963). Journalist, educator, and activist. Graduated from Fisk University (1888) and Harvard College (1890). Editor of *The Crisis* (1910–1934) and author of the most important articulation of black American racial consciousness, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903).

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). Congregational clergyman and theologian. Graduated from Yale College (1720) and called as pastor of the church of Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1729. Promoted “awakenings” in 1734–1735 and 1739–1741, which he described and defended in *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God* (1737). Wrote philosophical defenses of Calvinist theology in *Freedom of the Will* (1754) and *Original Sin* (1758). Briefly president of Princeton (1757–1758).

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882). Unitarian clergyman and author. Graduated from Harvard College (1822) and served as minister of the Second Church, Boston (1829–1832). Wrote *Nature* (1836) as an American Romantic declaration. Delivered “The American Scholar” (1837) as a call for an intellectual break with Europe and the Divinity School Address (at Harvard) in 1838 as a repudiation of traditional Unitarian theology.

Henry George (1839–1897). Laborer, journalist, and economist. Wrote *Progress and Poverty* (1879) to propose a “single-tax” solution for redistributing industrial wealth.

Charles Hodge (1797–1878). Presbyterian clergyman and theologian. Graduated from Princeton (1819) and became second professor (with Archibald Alexander) at Princeton Theological Seminary. His *Systematic Theology* (1873) was a landmark of conservative Protestant thought and represented the incorporation of Scottish common sense moral philosophy into American theology.

William James (1842–1910). Philosopher and psychologist. Graduated from Harvard Medical School (1868) and joined the faculty of Harvard in 1870, where he established the first psychology laboratory. His *Principles of Psychology* (1890) was a major force in overthrowing “faculty” psychology, but he was even better known for formulating a philosophy of pragmatism in his Lowell Lectures, *Pragmatism* (1908).

Martin Luther King (1929–1968). Baptist theologian and civil rights activist. Graduated from Morehouse College (1948) and Boston University (Ph.D., 1955). Became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1954 and assumed leadership of the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. Eventually became the most prominent spokesman for black civil rights in the nation.

James Marsh (1794–1842). President of the University of Vermont (1826–1833). Introduced American readers to Romantic Kantianism through his edition of S. T. Coleridge’s *Aids to Reflection* (1829).

Margaret Mead (1901–1978). Anthropologist. Graduated from Barnard College in 1923 and studied anthropology under Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict at Columbia University, where she earned a Ph.D. in 1929. Her fieldwork in the Pacific islands resulted in the most popular anthropological work of the 20th century, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928). She was a curator at the American Museum of Natural History from 1926–1969.

Henry Louis Mencken (1880–1956). Journalist and literary critic. Starting as a cub reporter, he rose to become a staff journalist and columnist for the *Baltimore Morning Herald* and the *Baltimore Sun*. Co-edited *The Smart Set* (1908–1923) and edited the *American Mercury* (1924–1933). He was best known for his caustic coverage of the Scopes “Monkey Trial.”

John Williamson Nevin (1803–1886). German Reformed theologian. Graduated from Union College (1821) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1826). Joined the faculty of the German Reformed theological seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, where he used conservative Romanticism to criticize revivalism in *The Anxious Bench* (1843) and *The Mystical Presence* (1846).

Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971). German Evangelical pastor, seminary professor, and theologian. Joined the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in 1928 and, through *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932) and *The Irony of American History* (1951), became a major critic of liberal optimism.

Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914). Mathematician and philosopher. Wrote the first statement of pragmatism in “How to Make Our Ideas Clear” in 1877. Held teaching positions only briefly at Harvard and Johns Hopkins, but his success at alienating people prevented him from ever finding a permanent position.

Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918). German Baptist pastor and theologian. His work as a pastor in New York City led to his articulation of the “Social Gospel.” From 1897, he was a professor at Rochester Theological Seminary, where he wrote *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), *Christianizing the Social Order* (1912), and *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1918).

Josiah Royce (1855–1916). Philosopher. Graduated from the University of California (1875) and Johns Hopkins University (Ph.D., 1878). Taught at the University of California, then joined the faculty of Harvard in 1882. Dissented from William James’s pragmatic empiricism and fashioned a pragmatic version of absolute idealism in *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy* (1885) and *The World and the Individual* (1900–1901).

Leo Strauss (1899–1973). Political philosopher. Born in Germany, he was briefly conscripted into the German Army (1917–1918). He earned a Ph.D. from Hamburg in 1921, studied in Paris and London, then emigrated to New York City in 1937, where he taught at the New School for Social Research (1938–1948). He moved to the University of Chicago in 1949 and became the father-figure to the Neo-Conservative movement.

Francis Wayland (1796–1865). Baptist clergyman and president of Brown University (1827–1855). Graduated from Union College (1813) and wrote the most popular textbook on moral philosophy, *Elements of Moral Science* (1835), and a major work on Whig economics, *Elements of Political Economy* (1837).

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- Louis Agassiz, *Principles of Zoölogy* (Boston, 1870).
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The Pragmatism Cybrary. www.pragmatism.org. This is pragmatism's own website, with links to electronic archives and to organizations, articles, and resources about a broad variety of topics in American intellectual history and societies and study centers dedicated to the study of William James (http://www.pragmatism.org/societies/william_james.htm) and John Dewey (<http://www.siu.edu/~deweyctr/>).

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The following websites offer access to online editions of works and papers by their respective authors:

- The Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University. <http://edwards.yale.edu/>
- Jone Johnson Lewis. "Ralph Waldo Emerson—Texts." <http://www.emersoncentral.com/>
- University of Virginia. "Thomas Jefferson Digital Archive." <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/jefferson/>
- The Abraham Lincoln Association. <http://www.alincolnassoc.com/>
- Stanford University. "Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project." <http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/>
- "Herbert Marcuse Official Homepage." <http://www.marcuse.org/herbert/>